

R A C I N E .

H. Rigaud pinxt.

J. Hall sculp.

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
NOTES, HISTORICAL, CRITICAL,
AND EXPLANATORY.

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the University of Cambridge.

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AND OTHERS.

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C H A P. CCIII.

Of the POLITE ARTS.

TRUE philosophy made not so considerable a progress in France as in England and Florence; and though the academy of sciences was particularly serviceable to human nature, it did not set the character of France above that of other nations; all the noblest inventions and great truths had their rise elsewhere.

But in eloquence, poetry, and polite learning, in books of morality and entertainment, the French must be considered as the legislators of Europe. There was no longer any taste in Italy. True eloquence was every where unknown; religion was ridiculously delivered from the pulpit; and the pleadings at the bar were as bad. Virgil and Ovid were quoted by

the preachers; St. Jerom and St. Augustine by the lawyers. No man had yet appeared of genius sufficient to polish the French tongue, to enrich it with harmony, propriety of expression and dignity. That it was capable of grandeur and force, was indeed evident from some verses of Malherbe; but this was all. President de Thou, chancellor de l'Hospital, and other celebrated writers, who had expressed themselves to such advantage in the Latin language, made but a poor figure in their native tongue; it was too much for them to manage. The French was as yet only valuable for a certain air of simplicity, in which solely consisted the merits of Joinville, Amiot, Marot, Montagne, Reginer, and the satire Menippe; nor was this simplicity unincumbered by irregularity and rusticity. John de Lingendes, bishop of Macon, at present unknown, because his works were never printed, was the first orator who declaimed with sublimity. His sermons and funeral orations, though something obscured by the rust of the time in which he lived, were models for those by whom he was imitated and surpassed. In 1630, he pronounced the funeral oration of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, surnamed, in his own country, the Great. It abounded with such fine strokes of eloquence, that Flechier long after took from thence the exordium, text, and many considerable passages, to adorn his famous funeral oration upon the viscount de Turenne.

It was about this time that Balsac gave measure and harmony to prose. His letters are, it is true, often bombastic. He writes to the first cardinal de Retz, "You are come from taking
the

the sceptre of kings and the livery of roses." Speaking of perfumed waters, in a letter from Rome to Bois Robert, "I have escaped by swimming in my chamber through the midst of perfumes." With all these faults he charms the ear: such power has eloquence over the mind of man, that Balzac was now admired for having found out that small portion of this art, so necessary, yet so little known, which directs an harmonious choice of words; and he was even praised for having often misplaced them.

Voiture gave some idea of the light graces of that epistolary stile, which is by no means the best, because it consists only of pleasantry. It is owing to a trifling imagination, that in his two volumes of letters not one of them is instructive, or seems to come from the heart. None of them depict the manners of the times, the characters of men. They are rather an abuse than exercise of genius.

The language was refined by degrees, and obtained something of a fixed form. We are for this obliged to the academy of sciences, and particularly to Vaugelas. The first well written book was his translation of Quintus Curtius, which was published in 1646; and wherein, even now, there are but few obsolete phrases and expressions. Oliver Patru, who follows next, contributed much to regulate and refine the language; and though he was not deemed a profound lawyer, we owe to him order, perspicuity, and elegance of harangue, merits absolutely unknown at the bar. The little collection of maxims written by Francis duke of Rochefoucault, was one of the works that contributed to form the taste of the nation, to com-

municate a spirit of precision and propriety: though in this book there is scarcely more than this one truth: "Self-love is the *primum mobile* of all our actions." Yet this one thought appears in such various lights, that it is always striking. It is rather a collection of materials to adorn a book than a book itself. It was read with eagerness; it accustomed us to think, and to comprise our thoughts in a spirited, determinate, delicate turn of phrase. No other writer in Europe could boast this merit since the revival of letters. But the first book of genius that appeared in prose was the collection of Provincial Letters in 1654. Herein may be found every species of eloquence; though an hundred years are past since that publication, not a single word occurs in it favouring of that change and alteration to which living languages are so very liable. With this work then we may fix the epocha when our language obtained a settled form. The bishop of Luçon, son to the celebrated Bussi, told me, that having asked Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, what work he would have chosen to be the author of, setting his own performances out of the question, he answered, the Provincial Letters.

The fine taste which runs through the whole of this book, and the strength of the last letters, were not yet of force sufficient to correct that dispirited, diffuse, incorrect, harsh stile, which had been so long in use with our writers, preachers, and lawyers.

A new light arose in 1668. This was father Bourdaloue; he was the first who maintained in the pulpit a noble uniformity of eloquence. Other orators have since appeared in the pulpit,

as Massillon, bishop of Clermont, in whose sermons are found more graces, more delicate and masterly pictures of the manners of the age; but none of them can eclipse Bourdaloue. In his stile, more nervous than florid, without appealing to fancy for expression, he seems rather to aim at convincing than inflaming; and he never labours to please. Perhaps it were to be wished, that in banishing from the pulpit that false taste whereby it had been so long debased, he had also suppressed the custom of preaching upon one text. In reality, to speak for a good while upon a quotation of one or two lines, to weary one's self in accommodating the whole discourse to that single line, seems to be a play on words little suiting the gravity of a divine. The text is a kind of device or enigma, to be explained by the sermon. This custom was unknown to the Greeks and Romans; it arose upon the decline of letters, and has been made sacred by time.

The method of always dividing into two or three points things that in themselves require no division, as morality; or that require to be more minutely divided, as controversy, is an arbitrary custom which this great preacher found established, and with which he chose to conform.

Bossuet, afterwards bishop of Meaux, had preceded him. He, who proved afterwards so great a man, was at first intended for the bar, and contracted when very young to mademoiselle Desvieux, a lady of extraordinary merit. But his talents for divinity, and for that kind of eloquence, whereby he is particularly distinguished, appeared so very early, that his relations and

friends resolved to bequeath him rather to the church. Mademoiselle Desvieux interested herself in determining him in this point, preferring his glory to the happiness of spending with him her life. In 1662, he being yet very young, he preached before the king and the queen-mother ; this was long before father Bourdaloue was known. His discourses, animated by a noble and affecting manner, were the first which had been delivered at court with any marks of sublimity ; and they were so well received, that the king caused a letter to be written in his own name to Bossuet's father, the intendant of Soissons, congratulating him on the merit of his son.

Nevertheless, monsieur Bossuet was no longer esteemed the first preacher when father Bourdaloue appeared. The former had applied himself to the composing funeral orations ; a species of eloquence that admits of being adorned by imagination, and requires a majestic grandeur bordering upon poetry, from which it must borrow somewhat, though restricted when it aims at the sublime. In 1667, he pronounced the funeral oration of the queen-mother, and it procured him the bishopric of Condom : it was a performance unworthy of him, and was never printed ; nor were his sermons. The funeral elegium upon the queen of England, widow of Charles I. which he delivered in 1669, is allowed to be a master-piece. The subjects in these pieces of eloquence are happy in proportion to the misfortunes sustained by the personages whom they celebrate. It is in these pieces of writing as in tragedy, where we are interested for the principal characters, in proportion as
their

their misfortunes encrease. His funeral oration upon the dutchess of Orleans, who was snatched away in the flower of her youth, and may be said to have expired in his arms, had the great and uncommon effect of melting the whole court into tears : he was obliged to stop at these words : " Oh ! disastrous night ! night teeming with horror and confusion, in which the astonishing news of Madame is dying ; she is already dead, burst upon us like a clap of thunder." His auditors were filled with grief ; and the voice of the orator was for some time lost in their tears and their sighs.

The French only succeeded in this kind of eloquence. A new one was soon after invented by the same man, which in any other hand could scarcely have succeeded. He applied the charms of oratory to history itself ; the simplicity of which seems to exclude such assistance. His discourse upon universal history, written for the use of the dauphin, is without model or imitation. If he has been opposed by the learned in the system which he adopts for reconciling the Jewish chronology to that of other nations, nevertheless his stile has been universally admired. The world was astonished at that majestic force with which he describes manners and government, the rise and fall of vast empires, and those rapid strokes of energetic truth with which he paints the manners, and judges the nations.

Almost all the works which reflect so much honour upon this age were of a species unknown to antiquity. Among them is *Telemachus*. This extraordinary book, in which at once unite the powers of romance and poetry, the stile of which is measured prose bordering upon versification,

fiction, was composed by Fenelon, the disciple and friend of Bossuet; though afterwards, much against his will, he became his rival and his enemy. One would think Fenelon had a mind to treat romance as the bishop of Meaux had done history, by enduing it with dignity and charms before unknown; but more especially by drawing from these fictions a moral that might be useful to mankind; a moral till then entirely neglected in every fabulous invention. It has been generally believed he composed this work to serve as themes of instruction to the duke of Burgundy, and the two other children of France, he being their preceptor, as Bossuet had formed his universal history to assist the education of the dauphin; but I was assured of the contrary by the marquis de Fenelon, the nephew of this great man, who inherited all his virtues, and was killed at the battle of Rocou. Nor does it indeed seem probable that the first lessons furnished by a priest to the children of France should be the loves of Calypso and Eucharis.

It was after he received orders to retire to his diocese of Cambray that he composed this performance. Well read in the ancients, and blest with a strong and glowing imagination, he formed a style peculiar to himself, and he wrote it with infinite ease. I have seen the original manuscript; there are not ten blots in the whole. It is pretended that the first impression was from a copy stolen by one of his domestics. If this be the case, the archbishop owes all the reputation which he has acquired to this breach of trust; but to the same cause he is indebted for being ever after out of favour at court.

court. Some people have imagined they could trace in Telemachus an indirect ciritique upon the government of Lewis XIV. Sesostris, too haughty in his triumphs; Idomeneus, who confirmed the reign of luxury in Salentum, and neglected œconomy, were thought striking portraits of that monarch: yet, after all, it was impossible for him to have had a superfluity without an extraordinary cultivation of the most essential and necessary arts. His minister Louvois was found by the malecontents in the character of Protefilaus, who is represented as vain, intractable, haughty, and an enemy to those great generals who chose to serve the state and not the minister.

The allies, who in the war of 1668 united against Lewis XIV. and who in 1701 shook his throne, traced his character with infinite pleasure in that Idomeneus, whose haughtiness had rendered him odious to all his neighbours. These allusions made the deeper impression, because of the harmony of the stile, which so gently insinuates moderation and concord. Even the French themselves, as well as strangers, tired out with so many wars, found a malicious consolation in tracing a satire of this kind thro' a book meant to inculcate the principles of virtue. The editions of it were innumerable: I have seen fourteen in English. It is true, that after the death of this monarch, so feared, so envied, so respected by all, so hated by some, the malignity of mankind ceased to point out those pretended allusions which censured his conduct; and judges of the correctest taste have treated Telemachus with severity. They blamed it as tedious and circumstantial; they alledged that there was too little connec-

tion in the adventures ; that his descriptions of a country-life occur too often, and are too much of a piece ; yet the book has been always esteemed a fine monument of a flourishing age.

Among these may be always counted the Characters of la Bruiere. We have no copies of such a work among the ancients, no more than of Telemachus. A stile rapid, concise, and nervous ; expressions animated and picturesque ; an entire new use of language, without infringing any established rules, now first struck the eye of the public, and the allusions, which every where occur in the course of the work, confirmed its success. When la Bruiere shewed his work in manuscript to Malesieux, "It will procure you (said he) many readers, and many enemies." The reputation of this book was lowered in the public opinion, when the whole generation against which it was levelled was no more ; yet, as there are in it many passages applicable to all times and all places, there is room to believe it will never be entirely forgotten. Telemachus has had some imitators ; la Bruiere's characters many more. It is much easier to sketch short pictures of striking things, than to produce a long work of imagination, which will at once both please and instruct.

The happy art of associating the graces with philosophy was a new thing, of which the Plurality of Worlds was the first specimen ; it was indeed a dangerous one, because the native dress of philosophy should be composed of order, perspicuity, and truth above all. There is nothing to hinder this ingenious work from being ranked among our classics by posterity, but that it was partly founded upon Cartesius' chimerical doctrine

trine of the vortices. To these literary novelties may be added Bayle's new kind of reasoning dictionary. It is the first work of this sort, whence a man may be taught to think. We must indeed abandon to the fate of indifferent books such articles as contain only trifling facts, unworthy of the character of Bayle, beneath the attention of a grave reader, or the regard of posterity. It is necessary to observe, that in ranking Bayle among the authors who reflect honour upon the age of Lewis XIV. though he was banished into Holland, I only conform to the degree of the parliament of Thoulouse, which in declaring his will valid in France, notwithstanding the rigour of the laws, expressly says, "Such a man cannot be looked upon as a foreigner."

We shall not descant here upon the multitude of good books produced in this age; we shall only dwell upon such new and singular productions of genius as characterise and distinguish it from all others. The eloquence, for example, of Bossuet and Bourdaloue are not, nay cannot, be deemed similar to that of Cicero. The merit, as well as the species, was entirely new. If any production of this æra comes near the Roman orator, the three pleadings of Pellisson composed for Fouquet must take the place. They, like many of Tully's orations, are a mixture of judicial and state matters, solidly handled with the finest, yet scarcely discernible art, and the most affecting charms of oratory.

We have had historians, but none equal to Livy. The conspiracy of Venice may rank with Salust: that he was the abbé de St. Real's model is evident, perhaps he has surpassed him. All the other writings of which we have been speaking seem to have been of a new creation. And

it is this that so peculiarly distinguishes and characterizes the age of Lewis XIV. for the sixteenth and seventeenth ages both have produced learned men and commentators, but true genius had not yet unfolded itself.

Who would believe that these excellent prose works of which we have taken notice had probably never existed, had they not been preceded by poetry: yet such has been the fate of human nature in all nations, that verse has every where appeared as the first offspring of genius, and the parent of eloquence.

It is the same with men in general as in particular. Plato and Cicero began with versifying. When every body had by heart some of Malherbe's stanzas, we had not one sublime or noble passage in prose to quote; and it is very likely the genius of prose writers had never been known, without the aid of Peter Corneille.

This great man is the more to be admired, because when he began to write tragedies, he had none but the very worst models before him, and inasmuch as these bad models were highly esteemed, he may be said to have been shut out of the road of success; and the more to augment his discouragement, they had a fast friend in Cardinal Richelieu, the protector of men of letters, but not of taste. He rewarded well the most miserable scriblers, who are commonly sycophants; and his natural haughtiness of soul, which on other occasions might have been nobly exerted, induced him to endeavour humbling men of real genius, which he viewed not without repining, as they seldom can stoop to dependence. It seldom happens that a man of power is a sincere patron of the arts, when he himself is an artist.

Cor-

Corneille had to struggle with the times, his rivals, and the cardinal. I shall not rehearse here all that has been said about the Cid; let it suffice that the academy, in their judicious decisions between Corneille and Scudery, had too much complaisance for his eminence, and therefore condemned the love of Chimene. To love the murderer of her father, and yet persist in avenging, was admirably fine. To have conquered her passion had been a capital defect in tragedy, the principal business of which is to portray the struggles of the human heart. But, except to Corneille, the dramatic was now entirely unknown. Nor was the Cid the only one of his works which the cardinal strove to injure; the abbe Polignac tells us that Polieuctes also incurred his displeasure. The Cid after all was a noble imitation, and in many places a translation, of Guillain de Castro. I knew an old domestic of the Condé family, who said, that at the first exhibition of Cinna, the great Condé being then only twenty years old, shed tears at these lines pronounced by Augustus:

*Je suis maître de moi, comme de l'univers ;
 Je le suis, je veux l'être. O siècles ! ô mémoire !
 Conservez à jamais ma nouvelle victoire.
 Je triomphe aujourd'hui du plus juste courroux,
 De qui le souvenir puisse aller jusqu' à vous.
 Soyons amis, Cinna ; c'est moi qui t'en convie.*

I'm now the world's great master and my own—
 I am—I will be—memory and time
 Shall this last, greatest victory record.
 I triumph over wrath too justly rous'd,
 And latest age the conquest shall applaud—
 Cinna, let us be friends—'tis I who ask it.

These

These were the tears of an hero. The great Corneille forcing tears of admiration from the eyes of the great Condé is a most celebrated epocha in the history of the human mind. The many pieces unworthy of himself which he afterwards published, will never hinder the nation from regarding him as a great man, no more than the blemishes of Homer have prevented his being thought the sublimest of poets. It is the privilege of true genius, more especially when it strikes out into a new path, to launch with impunity into considerable errors.

Corneille formed himself; but Lewis XIV. Colbert, Sophocles, and Euripides, all contributed to form Racine. An ode which he composed at the age of eighteen on the king's marriage, and for which he obtained an unexpected present, determined him in pursuit of poetry. His reputation encreased every day, that of Corneille diminished, but not much. The reason is plain, Racine, in all his performances subsequent to Alexander, is always correct, elegant, and natural; he speaks to the heart. The other too often infringes upon these duties. Racine understood the passions much better than either the Greeks or Corneille; and he carried the smooth flow of versification, as well as the graces of expression, to the highest pitch possible. By these great men the nation was taught to think, feel, and express; and their auditors, by them only instructed, became at length severe judges of what their first masters produced. In the time of Cardinal Richelieu there were but few people in France capable of seeing into the faults of the Cid; and in 1702, when Athaliah, that master-piece of dramatic writing, was perform-

ed before the dutchefs of Burgundy, the courtiers thought themselves fufficient critics to condemn it. Time has avenged this insult for the author; but that great man died without fharing in any part of the fuccefs of this admirable compofition.

There was ever a numerous party, which made a point of doing injuftice to Racine. Madam de Sevigné, the firft epiftolary writer of her time, and who had particularly the art of expreffing the mereft trifles with grace, always faid that Racine's fame would never be great. She judged of him as ſhe did of coffee, with regard to the virtues of which ſhe faid the public would foon be undeceived. Time is requiſite to ripen reputations.

It was the particular fate of theſe days, that Moliere ſhould be contemporary with Corneille and Racine. It is falſe that Moliere at his firſt appearance found the ſtage utterly void of good comedies. Corneille had produced his *Lyar*, a piece taken from the Spaniſh, and fraught with ſpirit, character, and intrigue, and Quinault's *Coquet-mother*, a piece not only abounding with character and intrigue, but even the very model of intrigue, had been exhibited, when only two of Moliere's moſt capital pieces were preſented. It made its appearance in 1664; and is the firſt comedy in which appears the character of a ſpecies of men called *marquiſſes*. Moſt of Lewis XIV's higheſt courtiers endeavoured to imitate the grandeur, ſplendour, and dignity of their ſovereign. Thoſe of an inferior claſs copied the exalted air of the nobility; and there were not wanting many, who carried their conceit and predominant deſire of being held in
a much

a much higher light, than their pretensions to the most ridiculous height of affectation.

This humour prevailed long. It was often attacked by Moliere, and is was to him principally the public owed their being freed from these consequential men of no consequence; as well as from the affectation of prudes; the pedantry of female learning; and the jargon of lawyers and physicians. Moliere was, if one may be permitted to use the expression, the law-giver of politeness to the world. I only here speak of the services he did the age: every body knows sufficiently his other merits. This was an æra worthy the attention of futurity, when the heroes of Corneille and Racine, the characters of Moliere, the musical compositions of Lully, so very new to the nation (for we only speak here of the arts) and the eloquence of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, were exhibited before a Lewis XIV. a dutchess of Orleans, remarkable for the most finished taste, a Condé, a Turenne, a Colbert, and that croud of illustrious men, of every sort, that now appeared. Those times will never return, wherein a duke de la Rochefoucault, author of the *Maxims*, shall quit the conversation of a Pascal and an Arnauld, to discourse at the theatre with Corneille. It was by his fine epistles so instructive to posterity, and above all by his *Art of Poetry*, whence even Corneille might have deduced improvement, and not by his *Satires*, that Boileau raised himself to a rank with so many great men; for what have future generations to do with the Confusion of Paris, or the names of Cossaignes, and Cotin?

La

La Fontaine, less chaste in his stile, less correct in his language, but inimitable in that sprightliness, and those graces peculiar to himself, which raised him by the simplest narrations, nearly to an equality with those sublime geniuses.

Quinault, who excelled in a new mode of writing, the more difficult for its being apparently the more easy, richly deserves a place amongst these his illustrious contemporaries. The injustice wherewith Boileau decried him is well known. Boileau had never learned to sacrifice to the graces; and it was in vain, that he all his life sought to humble a man who was their most intimate acquaintance. The greatest praise that can be given to a poet is to remember and repeat his verses. Whole scenes of Quinault are in every body's mouth, an advantage at which the Italian opera could never arrive. French music has remained in a state of simplicity, which is no longer the taste of any nation; but those simple and refined strokes of nature which so frequently charm in Quinault, still please in every part of Europe, those who are masters of the French tongue and a polished taste. Had we found such poems as an Armida, or an Atys, among the remains of antiquity, with what idolatry had they been read! but Quinault was a modern.

All these great men were known and protected by Lewis XIV. La Fontaine was not of the number. His extreme simplicity, which amounted even to forgetfulness, kept him at a distance from court, where he never, indeed, once thought of appearing. The duke of Burgundy found him out; and, in his old days,

days, he received many favours from that prince. He was, notwithstanding his genius, as simple in his manners as the heroes of his fables. Puget, one of the fathers of the oratory, thinks he has great merit in treating this innocent, this artless man, as if he spoke of a Brinvilliers or a Voisin. His tales are only from Poggius, Ariosto, and the queen of Navarre. If loose ideas are dangerous, be it remembered that they are not inspired barely by pleasant sallies of wit, or a lively imagination. One may apply to La Fontaine, his admirable fable of the beasts sick of the plague, where the lions, the wolves, and the bears, are pardoned every thing, and an innocent animal is devoured for having eaten a little grass.

In the school of these geniuses, destined to be the delight and instruction of posterity, were formed many men of wit, who have produced a multitude of elegant little pieces, which serve to amuse people of taste, just as we have several good painters who are yet unequal to Poussin, Le Sueur, Le Brun, Le Moine, and Vanloo.

But towards the end of Lewis XIV's reign, two men rose superior to the run of indifferent geniuses, and acquired a great degree of reputation: the one was La Motte-Houdart, rather of a more solid and extensive than a sublime capacity. In prose he was delicate and methodical; but in his poetry he often wanted that fire and elegance, even that correctness, the neglect of which is only to be dispensed with in favour of the sublime. He has however given us some beautiful stanzas, for they cannot be properly called odes. His talents were not long-lived, yet the

the many beautiful pieces he has left us of more than one kind are sufficient to set him above authors of the lowest class. In him is proved that in the art of writing some may rank as seconds. The other was Rousseau, who with less genius, less art, and facility than La Motte, had yet greater talents for versification. His odes were subsequent to La Motte; but they are more beautiful, diversified, and fuller of imagery. In his psalms, he comes up to that rapture and harmony so remarkable in the canticles of Racine. His epigrams are better finished than those of Marot. He had less success in opera, which requires sensibility; nor did he succeed in comedy, in which a spirit of gaiety is necessary. In these two characters he failed; therefore in these kinds of writing he did not succeed, because these were foreign to his genius.

Had the antiquated stile of Marot, which he used in his serious works, been imitated, he would have corrupted the French tongue; but happily that mixture of the purity of our language, with the obsolete dialect spoken above two hundred years before, did not long keep its footing. Some of his epistles are imitations of Boileau; but neither so easy in the expression, nor so clear in the conception; nor are his truths obvious: truth only is amiable.

He lost himself in foreign countries: whether his genius was impaired by his misfortunes, or whether his principal merit consisted in a choice of words and happy turns of expression, perfections more necessary and uncommon than is generally imagined, he had not abroad the same advantages he might have found at home.

Ex-

Exiled from his native land, he might rank it among his misfortunes that he was no longer under the eye of severe criticism.

His long misfortunes had their foundation in an ungovernable self-love, too much intermixed with jealousy and animosity. His example should be a striking lesson to all men of talents; but we only consider him here as a writer who has done no small honour to letters.

We have had few great geniuses since the flourishing days of these illustrious artists: and nature seemed as it were to repose herself some time before the death of Lewis the Great.

The road was difficult at the beginning of this age, because untrodden; it is now open to every one, and become a common highway. The great men of the preceding century have taught us to think and speak; they have informed us of things which were before unknown. But little is left to be said by their successors. In fine, the multitude of finished pieces have given us a kind of satiety of literary productions.

The age of Lewis XIV. had in every thing therefore the fate of Leo X. of Augustus, and of Alexander. The soils which produced in these illustrious times so many fruits of genius had been long before preparing to rear them. In vain have we searched out in causes moral and physical, the reason of this slow progressive fruitfulness, and of the strong sterility that ensued. The true reason is, that among the nations which cultivate the polite arts, it requires many years to purify their language and refine their taste. When these preliminaries are adjusted, then genius begins to bloom. Emulation and
public

public favour lavished upon these new efforts excite every talent. Each artist in his particular sphere seizes upon those natural beauties which correspond with his art. Whoever fathoms the theory of such arts as depend purely upon genius, must, if he has any genius himself, know that the primary beauties, the grand natural outlines peculiar to such arts, and which agree to the nation for which their talents are employed, are in number very confined. The subjects and their suitable embellishments have boundaries still more contracted than is generally imagined.

The abbe du Bos, a man of great good sense, who, in 1714 composed a treatise upon poetry and painting, found not in the whole history of France one real subject for an epic poem, but the destruction of the league by Henry the Great. He ought to have added, that the ornaments of the *epopæa* adopted by the Greeks and Romans, and by Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, being proscribed by the French writers; the fabulous deities, oracles, invulnerable heroes, monsters, forceries, metamorphoses, romantic adventures, now all generally exploded, the beauties proper to epic poetry are confined within a very narrow circle. If therefore at any time a genius springs up who possesses himself of all the embellishments suitable to the times, subject, and nation, and carries it into execution *, what has been attempted,

* Here the author alludes to his own poem, intituled, *La Henriade*. We cannot however subscribe to his opinion or that of the critics, who suppose the *epopæa* depends so much

tempted, those who follow him will find the task performed.

It is the same in tragic compositions. It is not to be supposed that sublime passages and elevated sentiment can be susceptible of such infinite variety as to be always new and affecting : every thing has its boundaries.

Nor is the case different with regard to true comedy ; there is not in human nature above a dozen characters truly comic and highly marked. The abbe du Bos, not having genius in himself, thinks that men of wit may strike out a variety of characters that are all new ; but he is mistaken, they must arise from nature. He imagines that those trifling peculiarities which constitute the different characters of men may be as happily handled as the most sublime subjects. Innumerable are the clouds that over-

much on the machinery of the heathen Gods, &c. from the use of which we christian authors are excluded : for granting the scene or plan of the work is laid within the pale of the church, the opinions and traditions of our own superstition supply the author with a fund of machinery as ample as any that antiquity can produce : we have our demons, satires, sorceries, prophecies, apparitions, dreams, and even metamorphoses, with all the romantic adventures of chivalry, which, if properly exhibited, would produce as good an effect as the intervention of the Gods of Homer ; which, in spite of all that has been said in their defence, certainly outrage probability, and would be a disgrace to any system of religion. After all, notwithstanding what Aristotle, Bossu, Rapin, and other critics, have said of the fable and the machinery of the epic poem, we will venture to affirm that the success of it does not so much depend upon the contrivance of the poet in these particulars, as upon the characters or manners, the imagery and versification of the performance.

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Shadow truth : her strongest and most glaring colours are not many ; but of such of these as are of a primitive, a superior nature, an able artist never fails to make a proper use*.

Pulpit oratory, particularly that which relates to funeral eulogium, is exactly in the same state. Moral truths being once delivered with eloquence, the images of wretchedness and human weakness, the vanity of grandeur, and the devastations of death, being once drawn by masterly hands, in time become common place. We are reduced to the necessity of imitating or erring from the point. A sufficient number of fables being composed by La Fontaine, all further additions enter into the same system of morality ; and the course of adventure is nearly the same. Thus genius, after flourishing for a certain age, must necessarily degenerate.

Those kinds of science whose subjects permit of perpetual renewal, such as history and physical observations, and which require only industry, judgment, and a common understanding, can more easily keep their ground ; and the manual arts, such as painting and sculpture, can never degenerate, when the supreme governors, as Lewis XIV. are careful only to employ the best artists ; for in painting and sculpture the same subjects may be treated an hundred different ways. The holy family is drawn

* Without entering into a discussion of this point, whether nature has not produced more than a dozen original comic characters, we shall beg leave to observe that it is the business of comedy to paint the follies of the age : and every body knows, that the follies of life are infinitely varied, according to fashion, time, and circumstance.

every

every day, though it is a subject on which Raphael has displayed the utmost power of his art: but it would be ridiculous again to undertake a Cinna, an Andromache, an Art of Poetry, and a Tartuffe*.

It is also observable, that the last age having instructed the present, it is become so easy to write indifferent books, that we have been plagued with trifling pieces; and, what is still worse, many of them very serious and very useless. But amid this quantity of pieces of small merit, an evil become necessary in a town like this, large, opulent, and idle, where one part of the people are always striving to amuse the other, there will from time to time be found excellent pieces, either of history or reflection, or of that superficial kind of writing which amuses every body †.

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* We cannot think this a fair comparison. A picture appeals instantaneously to the eye, which enjoys it at the first glance: but a man must take some pains to make himself judge of a tragedy. A picture is a valuable piece of furniture, an original ornament of which the owner is sole possessor; an eighteen penny pamphlet makes no figure at all, and is besides common to thousands; a circumstance that must greatly diminish its value. Yet we will be bold to say, that if the same subject for tragedy was treated by a dozen different authors of established reputation, we should peruse them all with pleasure; and if there was but one copy of each, it would perhaps fetch as great a price as an original Madona.

† The writings of the present age have been undervalued, not from their mediocrity, but from their abundance. Genius is become cheap, because the market is overstocked. Mr. Pope was caressed by the great as the first poet of the age. His friendship was courted by the first persons in the nation; and his fortune was made at once by a liberal subscription

The French nation has, above all others, produced most of these performances. Their language is become the language of Europe; every thing has contributed thereto; the celebrated writers of the age of Lewis the Great; the Calvinist ministers who were banished, and carried eloquence and method into other countries; a Rapin de Thoyras, who published in French the only good history of England*; a St. Evremond, whose acquaintance was sought by the whole English court; a dutchess of Mazarine, whom they were all zealous to please; and a madam d'Olbreuse, afterwards dutchess of Zell, who carried into Germany all the perfections of her native country; but above all, that social spirit which is the natural characteristic of the French, a merit and pleasure of which other nations feel the want and necessity. The French tongue, above all others, expresses every subject of genteel conversation with more ease, correctness, and elegance, and thereby contributes, all over Europe, to the greatest, the most amiable pleasures of life.

scription. Let it not be imagined we want to detract from the memory or fame of this excellent writer, than we declare our opinion, that there are now living several authors equal to Pope in poetical merit, who have never felt one ray of patronage or protection.

* This assertion will we hope, admit of a dispute. Rapin reigned for some years, because there was no competitor. The case is otherwise at present.

CHAP. CCV.

SEQUEL of the ARTS.

THE arts which do not depend absolutely upon the mind, such as music, painting, sculpture, architecture, &c. made but small progress in France before that æra which we distinguish by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. Music was as yet in its infancy; all that we knew were some songs, and a few airs for the violin, the guittar, and theorbo, most of which were composed in Spain. The taste, the skill of a Lully, amazed the world; he was the first who in France introduced basses, stops, and fugues. However easy and simple his compositions may now appear, the executing of them must have cost him some pains. There are at this time a thousand people who understand music for one who was a proficient therein in the days of Lewis XIII. and the art has, by degrees, arrived at perfection*.

Few great towns are now without a public concert; whereas then there was not one, even in Paris. The king's band of twenty-four violins, was all the music of France. The different species of science belonging to music, and its dependent arts, made afterwards such a progress, that, about the end of Lewis XIV's reign, the art of pricking down dances was invented; so that it may now be truly said we dance by book.

* What music may have gained in composition, it seems to have lost in expression: for the modern refinements of this art are calculated to tickle the ear, rather than wake or assuage the passions of the heart.

Even in the regency of Mary of Medicis, we had very good architects; she built the palace of Luxembourg in the Tuscan style, to do honour to her own country and embellish ours. That Desbrosses to whom we owe the portal of St. Gervais, superintended also the structure of that queen's palace, which she never enjoyed. It is a mistake to suppose that cardinal Richelieu, with equal greatness of soul, came near her in taste. His palace, which now belongs to the crown, is a proof of this assertion. When that beautiful front of the Louvre, which with regret we still behold unfinished, was first raised, we conceived the warmest expectations. Many magnificent buildings have been erected by citizens, which have been more highly finished within than without, and which contribute more to gratify the luxury of individuals than to the embellishment of the city.

Colbert, the Mécenas of arts, founded an academy of architecture in 1671. It is not enough to have Vitruviuses, we must also have Augustuses to employ them.

It is also necessary, that the municipal magistrates should be men of public spirit, and possessed of taste. Two or three such mayors of Paris as the president Turgot, would have prevented the reproach now cast upon that city, on account of the town-house, so badly built, and so ill situated; of the public squares, so small and irregular, remarkable only for executions and bonfires; and of the principal streets, so extremely narrow: and, in fine, for those remains of barbarity, still subsisting in the midst of grandeur and the very bosom of the arts.

Painting began with Pouffin, in the days of Lewis XIII. It is not worth while to take notice of the indifferent artists in that way who preceded him. We have always since his time had excellent painters ; tho' not indeed in that abundance which constitutes part of the wealth of Italy. Suppose we should pass over the name of le Sueur, who had no master but himself, or le Brun, who, in design and composition, equalled the Italians ; yet we can boast of more than thirty painters, who have left behind them pieces worthy of the most accurate attention. Foreigners begin to purchase them of us. I have seen the galleries and grand apartments of a great monarch, which have been adorned only with pictures of our country's produce, of whose merit we were not perhaps sufficiently acquainted. I have seen in France twelve thousand livres refused for a picture of Santerre. Europe cannot boast a greater, nor perhaps a more elegant, piece of painting than the cieling at Versailles by le Moine.

Foreigners allow a painter now among us to be the first in Europe. Colbert not only gave to the academy of painting its present form, but prevailed also upon Lewis XIV. to establish one at Rome, in 1667. An house was there purchased for the superintendant. Scholars are sent thither who have obtained the premium in the academy at Paris. They are sent and maintained at the king's expence ; they design after antiques, and study the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo. This ambition of imitating its treasures is a noble homage paid to ancient and modern Rome ; and we still continue it, notwithstanding the immense

menſe collection of Italian pictures made by the duke of Orleans and the king, and thoſe maſter pieces of ſculpture, which France has produced, ſets us above the ſearch after foreign aſſiſtance.

We have principally excelled in ſculpture, and in the art of caſting, in metal, coſſial equeſtrian figures.

Should there hereafter be diſcovered in ruins ſuch maſter-pieces of art as the baths of Apollo, expoſed to all the injuries of the weather in the gardens of Verſailles; the tomb of cardinal Richelieu in the chapel of the Sorbonne, not ſufficiently pointed out to the public; the equeſtrian ſtatue of Lewis XV. made at Paris, to embellish Bourdeaux; the Mercury ſent by the preſent king of France as a preſent to his maſteſty of Pruſſia, and other performances equal in merit to thoſe I have named, is it not probable they would ſet this age in a light as advantageous as the moſt poliſhed æra of ancient Greece?

We have equalled the ancients in our medals, Varin was the firſt who raiſed this art above mediocrity, about the end of the reign of Lewis XIII. The number and variety of theſe pieces, which we ſee ranged in hiſtorical order in that part of the gallery of the Louvre aſſigned to the artiſts, is admirable. There are above two millions, and moſt of them very maſterly.

Nor have we been leſs ſucceſſful in the art of engraving precious ſtones. That of multiplying pictures upon copper, and transmitting with eaſe to poſterity all the representations of art and nature, was, before this time, in a very
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imperfect state in France. It is one of the most useful and pleasing arts; we are indebted for it to the Florentines, among whom it was invented about the middle of the fifteenth century; and it has been more improved in France than Italy: we have a vast number of finished works of this kind. The king's collection of prints has been often considered as one of the most magnificent presents that could be given to ambassadors. Chasing in gold and silver, which depends much upon invention and taste, has been carried to the highest perfection of which the hand of man is capable.

Having thus traversed those arts which contribute to the delight of individuals, and the glory of a state, let us not pass over in silence one of the most useful of all others, in which France surpasses all nations of the world; I mean surgery, the progress of which was now so rapid and celebrated, that people crowded to Paris from all parts of Europe for those cures and operations which require uncommon dexterity of hand. And, besides that good surgeons were to be found scarcely anywhere but in France, it was the only country in which the instruments necessary to that art were properly finished. They supplied all their neighbours; and the celebrated Cheselden, one of the greatest surgeons in London, told me, that it was he who first caused them to be manufactured in that city, in 1715. Physic, which contributes to perfect the chirurgical art, did not make a swifter progress in France than in England, and under Boerhaave in Holland. But we may say of physic as of philosophy, that, by making use of the lights communicated to us
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By our neighbours, we have raised it to the greatest possible perfection.

Thus have I given a general and faithful portrait of the progress of human genius among the French in this age, which began under cardinal Richelieu, and ended with our own times. It will be difficult to surpass it : if by any means it should happen, this will always remain a model for those more fortunate ages to which it may give birth.



C H A P. CCVI.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS : MEMORABLE
DISPUTES.

IT has been always necessary for the sovereign to act with more delicacy and caution towards the church, the most numerous of the three orders composing the state, than any other. To preserve at the same time an union with the see of Rome, and support the liberties of the Gallican church, which are the rights of the ancient church, that is, to make the bishops obey as subjects, without infringing their episcopal immunities, to oblige them to submit in many things to the secular jurisdiction, and to leave them judges in others, to make them contribute to the exigencies of the state without injuring their privileges ; all this required a compound of dexterity and resolution of which Lewis XIV. was always master. The clergy of France were by degrees reduced to a state of

order and decency, from which the civil wars and the licentiousness of the times had caused them to deviate. The king would no longer permit laymen to possess benefices *in commendam*; nor any to be bishops unless they were priests, as the cardinal Mazarin, who had held the bishopric of Metz, when not even a sub-deacon, and the duke de Verneville, who enjoyed the profits thereof, though a layman.

The money paid one year with another to the king, by the clergy of France and the conquered towns, amounted to about two millions five hundred thousand livres; and, since the numerical increase of the value of money, they have assisted the state yearly with about four millions, under the name of tenths, extraordinary subsidies, and free-gifts. The name and privilege of free-gift is still preserved as one of the remains of ancient custom, whereby the lords of fiefs were wont to contribute to the necessities of the state, by way of free-gift to the king. In the time of feudal anarchy, bishops and abbots, being lords of fiefs, were only obliged to furnish soldiers. Kings then, like other lords, lived upon the revenue of their own domains: afterwards, when every other order changed, the clergy remained upon their old footing, and maintained the custom of assisting the state by way of free-gift.

To this ancient custom, which a body that assembles often, easily preserves, and which must be necessarily lost by one that never assembles, we may join that immunity and maxim, always claimed by the church. That its revenues are those of the poor. Not that it pretends to owe nothing to the state, of which it holds every thing,

thing, because, when the public is necessitated, it is to be considered in the first class of poor, and Lewis XIV. exacted these supplies in such a manner, that he was sure of never being refused.

It is amazing to all Europe, as well as to France, that the clergy, who are supposed to be possessed of one third of the revenue of the kingdom, should contribute so little to relieve its wants. If they are masters of one third of the whole, it is indisputable that they ought to pay one third of the expences, which, upon an average, amounts, demonstrably, to thirty millions yearly, besides the duties upon perishable commodities, which they pay in common with other subjects; but vague and partial judgments are passed upon every thing. The people talk of the clergy possessing one third of the kingdom's revenues at random, just as they say Paris contains a million of inhabitants.

Were we but to take the pains of computing the revenues of the bishoprics, by the leases granted about fifty years ago, it would appear, that the whole annual revenue did not then exceed four millions; and the commendatory abbies amounted to about four millions five hundred thousand pounds. It is true, the leases were estimated at one third of their real value, and if to this estimation we add the increase of the landed revenue since, the sum total of the consistorial benefices will amount to sixteen millions; and it should not be forgotten, that out of this there goes annually a considerable sum to Rome, which, as it never comes back, is absolutely lost to us. The king is herein extremely liberal to the holy see; by which the state is plundered.

ed, in the space of a century, of more than 400,000 marks of silver, which could not in time fail to impoverish the kingdom, were not the loss abundantly repaired by the returns of commerce. To these benefices which pay annates to Rome must be annexed cures, convents, collegiate livings, and all other ecclesiastical establishments; and, if we compute the value of all together at fifty millions yearly, we shall not fall far short of the truth.

Those who have inquired into this matter with the utmost accuracy and attention cannot carry the sum total of the yearly revenues of the Gallican church, secular and regular, farther than eighty millions. This is no exorbitant sum when appropriated to the maintainance of ninety thousand regulars, and about one hundred and sixty thousand other ecclesiastics, which was the case in 1700: and moreover, out of the above ninety thousand, more than one third live upon alms and masses. Many conventual monks do not stand their community in two hundred livres yearly: there are regular abbots, whose income each annually amounts to two hundred thousand livres. From this enormous and striking inequality, murmurs must necessarily arise. It is really lamentable, that a country curate shall, from his laborious duties, be only intitled to a scanty income of three hundred livres, (and perhaps he shall receive from Christian liberality not more than four or five hundred livres besides) while a lazy monk become an abbot, but not on that account the less lazy, and is master of an immense fortune, receiving at the same time from his inferiors the most flattering and pompous titles. These abuses are carried
much

much higher in Flanders, Spain, and above all, in the catholic states in Germany, where we often find princes among the regular religious.

Abuses almost every where pass by degrees into laws; and if the wisest men were to assemble to compose laws, where is that kind of state whose constitution would always remain unalterably the same?

The clergy of France always observe a custom that is very burthensome to them when they assist the king with a free-gift of several millions for a certain term of years. They borrow the money, and reimburse their creditors with the capital, after having paid the interest; thus paying it twice over. It would be more to the advantage of the state, as well as of the clergy in general, and more conformable to reason, if this reverend body were to assist the wants of their country by contributions proportioned to the value of their respective benefices: but we are always too much attached to old customs. It is owing to this disposition that the clergy, though they assemble every five years, have never yet had a hall, nor any one thing they could call their own. It is clear, that with less expence to themselves, they might have more effectually served the king, and have erected a palace in Paris, which might have been a new ornament to that capital.

In the minority of Lewis XIV. the maxims of the clergy of France were not entirely cleared from the impurities they had imbibed from the League. It is well known, that in the younger days of Lewis XIII. and in the last assembly of the states, held in 1614, the most numerous

part of the nation, distinguished by the appellation of the third state, and which is as it were the foundation of the state, in vain demanded of the parliament, that it should be registered as a fundamental law, "That no spiritual power can deprive kings of their sacred rights, which they hold only from God; and that it is high treason of the blackest kind to teach the doctrine of deposing and killing kings." This was the substance of the nation's demand, in nearly the same words. It was made when the blood of Henry the Great still smoked. Yet a bishop of France, born in that kingdom, the cardinal du Perron, opposed violently the proposition, under pretence that it was not the business of the third state to dictate laws that any way concern the church. Why did he not then, in conjunction with them, agree to this point? but he was so far from this as to say, "That the power of the pope was plenary without controul, direct as to spiritual matters, indirect as to temporals; and he was also commissioned by the clergy to add, they would excommunicate all such persons as might pretend to maintain that the pope could not depose kings."

The nobility was gained over, and the third state obliged to desist. The parliament renewed their antient decrees, declaring the crown independent, and the king's person sacred. The ecclesiastical chamber, in acknowledging the king's person to be sacred, still persisted to maintain that the crown was dependent. The very same temper had before deposed Lewis the Debonnaire. It now prevailed so far, that the court was obliged to acquiesce, and imprison the printer who had published the decree of parliament,

liament, under the title of, The fundamental law. This proceeding was said to be necessary for the public peace; but it was really meant to punish those who furnished the crown with defensive arms. The case was quite different at Vienna, because France stood in awe of the court of Rome, and the pope was afraid of the house of Austria.

The cause here given up was so much the cause of kings, that James I. king of England, wrote against cardinal Perron; and this piece is the best of his works. It was also the cause of the people, whose safety required that their sovereign should by no means depend upon a foreign power. Reason at length prevailed; and Lewis XIV. with the weight of his authority, found no great trouble in procuring it to be heard.

Antonio Perez had recommended to Henry IV. three things, Rome, Consejo, Pielago. Lewis XIV. had attained to such a superiority in the two last, he had no need of the first. He was particularly careful to preserve the custom of appealing to parliament, from the decrees of ecclesiastical courts, in all cases respecting the regal jurisdiction. The clergy sometimes complained of this proceeding, and sometimes applauded it: for if on the one hand these appeals support the rights of the state against episcopal authority, they yet confirm that authority itself, in maintaining the rights of the episcopal church against the pretensions of the court of Rome: insomuch that the bishops have looked upon the parliament both as their adversaries and defenders; and the government has been careful, that, in spite of the quarrels of religion, the boundaries,

boundaries, which are easily broken down, should on neither side be infringed. It is with regard to the different bodies and companies of the state the same as with the interest of trading towns; to ballance them is in the hand of the legislator.

The most important and delicate affair of this sort, was that of the Regale. The kings of France have a right to present to all simple benefices of a diocese during the vacancy of the see, and also for that time to appropriate the revenues to their own use. This prerogative is peculiar to the kings of France; but every state has its privileges. The kings of Portugal enjoy one third of the revenues of every bishop in their dominions. The emperor claims the first fruits, and disposes of all livings when they become first vacant after his accession. The rights of the kings of Naples and Sicily are still greater. Those of the court of Rome are founded rather upon custom than primitive title. The kings of the Merovingian race gave away livings and bishoprics of their own sole authority. It appears very just they should preserve the poor privilege of disposing of the revenue, and nominating to simple benefices during the short space that happens between the death of one bishop and the registering his successor's oath of fidelity.

The bishops of several towns, reunited to the crown under the third race, refused to acknowledge this right, which their former lords had been too weak to maintain. The popes sided with the bishops, and their claims always remained enveloped in obscurity. The parliament under Henry IV. in 1608, declared, that
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the Regale should take place throughout the whole kingdom. The clergy murmured; and that prince, who temporised with the bishops and court of Rome, brought the affair before his council, but took care it should not be decided.

The cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin caused several orders of council to be issued, whereby those bishops who held themselves exempt from that authority were required to produce their titles. The affair remained undecided even in the year 1673; and the king at that time did not dare to dispose of a single benefice in almost any diocese beyond the Loire, during the vacancy of a see. At length, in 1673, the chancellor Michael le Tellier published an edict, whereby all the bishoprics in the kingdom were declared subject to the Regale. Two bishops, who were unhappily the most virtuous men in the kingdom, obstinately refused to submit. These were Pavillon bishop of Alet, and Caulet bishop of Pamiers. They defended their cause at first with very plausible reasons, and were as strongly opposed. When men of understanding dispute long, it is very likely the question is far from being clear. This was indeed very obscure: but it was evident, that neither religion nor good order were interested in preventing the king from doing in two dioceses what he did in every other. Nevertheless, the two bishops remained inflexible. Neither one nor the other of them had caused his oath of fidelity to be registered; and the king thought he had a right to dispose of the livings vacated in their respective sees.

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

The two prelates excommunicated all who were thus provided for. Both had been suspected of Jansenism. Innocent X. was their enemy; but when they disputed against the king's prerogative, he became their friend. This pope, Odescalchi, as virtuous and obstinate as themselves, warmly espoused their cause.

The king at first contented himself to exile the principal officers of these bishops. He shewed more moderation than two men who piqued themselves for their sanctity. Out of respect to his old age, the bishop of Alet was left to die in peace. The bishop of Pamiers still resisted, nor could any remonstrances move him. He repeated his excommunications; and persisted in not registering his oath of fidelity, persuaded that by such an oath the church was acknowledged as subservient to monarchy. His temporalities were seized upon by the king. The pope and the Jansenists indemnified him. He gained by the privation of his annuity, and died in 1680, satisfied, that in opposing the king, he had maintained the cause of heaven. His death did not extinguish the quarrel: the canons named by the king came to take possession; the monks, who pretended to be canons and grand vicars, obliged them to quit the church, and excommunicated them. The metropolitan, Montpesat, archbishop of Toulouse, to whom it belonged to take cognizance of this matter, gave sentence, but to no purpose, against these pretended grand vicars. They appealed to Rome, according to the custom of referring to that court such ecclesiastical causes as were determined by the archbishops of France, a custom directly contrary to the liberties of the Gallican

Gallican church: but there are contradictions in every form of human government. The parliament issued decrees. A monk named Cerle, who was one of these grand vicars, broke through the sentence of the archbishop, as well as the decrees of the parliament. This last tribunal condemned him to be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, and to lose his head. He was executed in effigy. From his asylum he insulted both the archbishop and the king; and was supported by the pope. Nay, this sovereign pontiff went farther. Persuaded, like Pamiers, that the right of Regale was an abuse upon the church, and that the king had nothing to do with the livings of that vacant bishopric, he repealed the ordinances of the archbishop of Toulouse, and excommunicated the grand vicars named by that prelate, with all the ecclesiastics that held under the Regale, and their abettors.

The king convened an assembly of the clergy, consisting of thirty-five bishops, and a like number of deputies of the second order. The Jansenists for the first time took part with the pope; and this pope, an enemy to the king, favoured, without loving them; he piqued himself for opposing this monarch upon every occasion: and, in 1689, joined with the allies against James II. because he was protested by Lewis XIV. so that it was now a common saying, That James should become an huguenot, and the pope a catholic, to terminate the troubles of Europe and of the church.

In the mean time the clergy, in 1681, unanimously declared for the king. Another trifling quarrel, become now important, engaged the public

public attention. The election to a priory in the suburbs of Paris inflamed the difference between the pope and the king. The Roman pontiff repealed the ordonnance of the archbishop of Paris, and annulled his nomination to that priory. The parliament adjudged this proceeding of the court of Rome to be an abuse. The pope, by a bull, ordered the inquisition to burn the parliament's decree. These disputes have been for a long time the common and inevitable consequences of that ancient mixture of the natural liberty which every country claims of governing within itself, and of its subserviency to a foreign power.

The assembly of the clergy took a course, which shews that men of wisdom can yield with dignity to their sovereign, without any other power interposing. They consented that the right of Regale should extend over the whole kingdom; but it was done in such a manner as to seem rather a concession on the part of the clergy, relinquishing their pretensions out of regard to their protector, than a formal acknowledgment of the absolute right of the crown.

The assembly justified themselves to the pope by a letter, wherein we find this one passage, which alone ought to serve as a constant rule in all disputes, viz. "It is better to cede some thing of one's right, than to disturb the public tranquillity." The king, the Gallican church, and the parliament, were contented. The Jansenists writ some libels: the pope continued inflexible. He reversed by brief all the resolutions of the assembly, and commanded the bishops

bishops to retract their concessions. Here was some foundation for dividing for ever the church of France from that of Rome. There had been some talk of making a patriarch in the times of cardinal Richelieu and Mazarin.

It was the wish of every magistrate, that the tribute of annates should be no longer paid to Rome; that the holy see should nominate to the benefices of Bretagne only for six months in the year; and that the bishops of France should no longer be styled bishops by permission of the holy see. Had it been the king's inclination, he needed only to have said the word; he was master of the assembly of the clergy, and the nation was for him. Rome would have lost all by the inflexibility of a virtuous pope, who knew not how to temporise. But there are certain ancient boundaries which cannot be removed without the most violent shocks. It required stronger ties of interest, more inflamed passions, and greater perturbations in the minds of men, to break at once with the court of Rome; and this rupture would have been the more difficult while the ministry persisted in extirpating Calvinism. It was even looked upon as a bold step to publish the four famous decisions of the same assembly in 1682, of which here follows the substance.

1. God gave no power, either directly or indirectly, in temporal matters, either to Peter or his successors.

2. The Gallican church approved of the council of Constance, which declares general councils superior to the pope in spirituals.

3. The

3. The rules, customs, and established practices of the kingdom, and the Gallican church, ought to remain unchangeable.

4. The pope's decisions in matters of faith are not binding, until approved of by the church.

All the tribunals and faculties of theology registered these four propositions in their fullest sense, and forbid by edict any one to maintain the contrary. This firmness was regarded at Rome as an effort of rebellion; and by the protestants of Europe as a weak essay of a church naturally free, which had broken only four links of her chains. These four maxims were at first espoused with enthusiasm by the whole nation; but they afterwards cooled.

About the end of Lewis the Great's reign, they began to be considered as problematical; and cardinal Fleury caused them to be in part disavowed by an assembly of the clergy, without the least consequential murmur, because the minds of men were not then so much heated, and because during the administration of cardinal Fleury, nothing was done very remarkable.

Pope Innocent was nevertheless more than ever exasperated: he refused bulls to all the bishops and commendatory abbots that had been nominated by the king; so that when he died, which was in 1689, there were twenty-nine sees in France without bishops. These prelates indeed were not without their revenues; but they dared not either to be consecrated, or enjoy any of the episcopal functions. The notion of creating a patriarch was revived. The quarrel about the rights of ambassadors at Rome, which completed the widening of these breaches, gave
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one reason to think that the time was come for establishing in France a catholic apostolic church that was not Roman. The attorney-general, Harlai, and the advocate-general, Talon, made themselves sufficiently understood, by appealing, in 1687, from the bull against the franchiser, as an abuse, and exclaiming against the obstinacy of the pope, who left so many churches without pastors. This was a step to which the king never could agree, though it might have been easily done, notwithstanding it appeared so very difficult.

The cause of Innocent XI. became now the cause of the holy see. The four propositions of the clergy of France attacked the phantom of infallibility, (which, though not believed in at Rome, yet was there supported) and the real power annexed to that phantom. Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII. followed the steps of the obdurate Odescalchi, not indeed with such violence. They confirmed the judgment pronounced against the assembly of the clergy: they refused bulls to the bishops: and in fine did too much, because Lewis XIV. had not done enough. The bishops, weary of enjoying no more than a regal nomination, without the exercise of their episcopal functions, intreated the court of France to permit them to appease that of Rome.

The king, whose resolution was worn out, allowed their request. Each of them wrote separately to the court of Rome, expressing themselves grievously afflicted with the proceedings of the assembly; and each of them in his letter declared he did not look upon that matter as decided, which they had before absolutely

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solutely decided ; nor upon that to be established which they had really established. Pignatelli, (Innocent XII.) more mild than Odescalchi, was satisfied with this proceeding. The four propositions were yet from time to time not less taught in France. The cause subsided when disputes were ceased ; yet it only lay dormant without being determined, as is always the case in a state, which has not in such matters invariable and acknowledged principles. Thus we sometimes oppose, sometimes give way to Rome, according to the characters of those who govern, or the particular interests of those who are at the head of the administration.

Lewis XIV. had no other kind of ecclesiastical quarrel with the court of Rome ; nor had he any opposition from the clergy in temporal matters.

Under him the clergy became respectable by a decency of behaviour unknown to the barbarous times of the two first races of our kings, to the still more barbarous times of feudal government, absolutely unknown during the civil wars, and above all during the Fronde. There are indeed some few exceptions, which will be always the case according to the prevailing virtues or vices. It was now only that the eyes of the people began to be opened upon the superstitions which always mingle with their religion. It was no longer accounted criminal to assert that Lazarus and Mary Magdalen never were in Provence, whatever might be the opinion of the parliament of Aix, or of the Carmelites. The Benedictines could no longer persuade the people that Dionysius the Areopagite

pagite governed the church of Paris. Pretended saints, false miracles, and supposed relics, began to be decried. That sound reasoning which had thrown such lights upon philosophy, made its way every where but slowly, and with difficulty.

Gaston Lewis de Noailles, brother to the cardinal and bishop of Chalons, in 1702, had sufficient sensible piety to cause to be thrown away a relic which had been many ages carefully preserved in the church of Notre-Dame, worshipped under the name of Jesus Christ's navel. All Chalons murmured against the bishop. Presidents, counsellors, king's officers, treasurers of France, merchants, citizens, canons, curates, unanimously and formally protested against this bold action of the bishop; affirmed that the garment of Christ, preserved at Argenteuil, the handkerchief at Turin and Laon, the nail of the cross at St. Dennis, and the prepuce at Rome, were identically his. But the bishop's wise resolution triumphed at length over the credulity of the people.

Some other superstitions, because united with respectable customs, still subsisted. The protestants have therefore exulted; but they are obliged to acknowledge, that there is no catholic church in which abuse is less common, or more despised, than in France.

The true philosophical spirit, which had not taken root till about the middle of this century, could not extinguish the ancient and modern disputes in theology, of which it did not take cognizance. We shall now proceed to speak of those dissensions which are a disgrace to human reason.

C H A P. CCVII.

OF CALVINISM.

IT is undoubtedly a melancholy consideration that the church has been always torn by intestine divisions, and that so much blood should have been for so many ages shed by those who proclaimed the God of peace. This rage was unknown to Paganism. It covered the earth with darkness, but scarcely spilt any other blood than that of animals; and if human victims were sometimes offered up among the Jews and Pagans, such offerings, horrible as they are, never occasioned civil wars. The religion of the Pagans was composed of morality and festivals. Morality, which is common to all men, and all seasons; and festivals, which are only acts of rejoicing, could never disturb mankind.

The spirit of dogmatism inspired men with the rage of civil war. I have often enquired how, and by what means, that dogmatic spirit, which divided the schools of Pagan antiquity, without occasioning any disturbance, should among us produce such horrible disorders. It cannot be caused solely by fanaticism; for the Gymnosophists and Bramins, the most fanatic of mankind, never hurt any but themselves. Cannot then the origin of this new plague, which has ravaged the earth, be found in that republican spirit which animated the primitive churches? Those secret assemblies, which from caves and grottoes defied the authority of the Roman emperors, by degrees formed a state within

state within a state. It was a republic concealed in the bosom of the empire. Constantine drew it from under ground, and set it by the side of the throne.

The authority annexed to great sees was soon found to run counter to the spirit of popularity, which had till then inspired all the christian assemblies. It often happened that when a metropolitan uttered one opinion, a suffragan bishop, a priest, or a deacon, maintained the direct contrary. All authority secretly hurts mankind, inasmuch as that authority is always upon the encrease. When people can find a pretext that may be deemed sacred, they soon make a duty of opposition*. Thus one party becomes persecutors, the other rebels, while on both sides they pretend to maintain the cause of God. We have seen by the disputes supported by Arius against a bishop, how the rage

* All the mischiefs of religious zeal are, we apprehend, deducible from the single doctrine of faith, implying that our eternal happiness or misery depends upon our believing or disbelieving certain tenets, concerning which the faculty of reason cannot be exercised. This it was which opened a way to every species of fanaticism and spiritual rancour: for those who adopted this tenet considered every person who differed from them in opinion, as reprobated and accursed; and mutual hatred, animosity, and persecution ensued. As the concerns of the soul were much more interesting than any that related to temporal establishments, the spiritual guides acquired such influence over the minds of the Neophytes, as often superseded the authority of the civil magistrates; a circumstance which could not fail to arouse the jealousy of the government under which they lived; and this jealousy was attended with severity, which served only to inflame the spirit of ensuasiast, and engender rebellion and despair.

of governing souls has disturbed the peace of the earth. To deliver an opinion as agreeable to the will of heaven, to command it to be believed under pain of death, temporal and eternal, was in some men deemed the utmost period of spiritual despotism ; and to resist these two menaces was in others, thought the last effort of independence.

In the general history we have run through, we have seen a continual struggle between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, ever since the time of Theodosius ; and since that of Charlemagne, the grand siefs continually struggling against their sovereigns ; bishops often rising against kings, and popes taking part sometimes with bishops, sometimes with kings. In the first ages they disputed less in the Latin church. The continual invasions of barbarians scarcely gave them time to think ; and few of their dogmatical opinions were sufficiently clear to secure them universal credit. The worship of images was almost every where rejected in the West, in the age of Charlemagne. A bishop of Turin, named Claudius, inveighed against them with great acrimony, and maintained several opinions which at this time gave foundation to the protestant credit. These opinions spread themselves in the vallies of Piedmont, Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc. They flourished in the twelfth century ; soon afterwards produced the wars of the Albigenes ; and having passed thence to the university of Prague, excited the wars of the Hussites.

The interval between the troubles which arose from the ashes of John Hus and Jerom of Prague, and the disturbances renewed by

by Luther, was not more than one hundred years. The ancient opinions embraced by the Vaudois, the Albigenes, and the Hussites, revived and differently explained by Luther and Zwinglius, were eagerly adopted in Germany, as they furnished pretence for seizing on the many lands possessed by the bishops and abbots, and for resisting the power of the emperor : they triumphed in Sweden and Denmark, countries wherein people were free under their kings.

The English, who inherit from nature a spirit of independence, adopted, moulded them, and thence composed a religion for themselves. These opinions made their way in Poland ; and their progress was considerable only in places where the people were not slaves. They found little difficulty in being received among the Swiss, because the government was republican. For the same reason they were near being established at Venice ; and might have perhaps taken actual root there, had not Rome been so near ; and if the government had not dreaded a democracy, at which the people in every republic naturally aspire, and which was the chief view of most of the reformers. The Hollanders shook off the yoke of Spain * before they embraced this religion. Geneva became a popular state by receiving Calvinism. The house of Austria took all possible pains to prevent these religions from getting footing in their dominions. They scarcely made any progress

* The Dutch did not throw off the Spanish yoke, and then embrace the protestant religion ; they were first converted to this doctrine, and finding themselves oppressed in the point of liberty of conscience, then shook off the yoke of Spain,

in Spain. They were extirpated with fire and sword in the dukedom of Savoy, which was their cradle. In 1655 the inhabitants of the vallies of Piedmont underwent the same cruel trials which those of Merindol and Cabriere had underwent under Francis I. in France.

This sect having appeared dangerous to the duke of Savoy, he absolutely exterminated it; so that there remained only some few, scarcely known, in the most rocky and desert places. It does not appear that the Lutherans and Calvinists caused any great troubles in France, under the dominion of Francis I. and Henry II. But when the government was weak and divided, the quarrels of religion became violent. Conde and Coligni become Calvinists, because the Guises were Catholics, overwhelmed the state with confusion. The levity and impetuosity of the nation, their passion for novelty and enthusiasm, changed us for upwards of forty years from a most polished to a most barbarous people. Henry IV. born of this sect, which he really loved without being bigotted to any, could not, though seconded by his victories and virtues, obtain the crown without abandoning Calvinism. After he became a catholic, he had not the ingratitude to consent to the destruction of a people to whom, though they were at variance with monarchical government, he owed his crown; and even had he been inclined to it, he could not now have dispersed this faction; he therefore cherished, protected, and restrained it.

The Huguenots of France did not at this time amount to a twelfth part of the nation. But among them were many powerful lords; whole

whole cities were protestants. They had made war upon their sovereigns, who had been obliged to put some strong places into their hands for security. Henry III. had given up to them, in Dauphine alone, fourteen; Montauban and Nismes in Languedoc; Saumur, and above all Rochelle, which made a republic of itself, and had become powerful by the commerce and protection of the English. At length Henry IV. seemed to act according to his inclination as well as his duty, and even politically, by granting them in 1598, the celebrated edict of Nantz. This edict was in reality no more than a confirmation of privileges which the protestants had obtained sword in hand from preceding kings, and which Henry the Great confirmed to them voluntarily from the throne. By this edict of Nantz, which the name of Henry the Great renders more celebrated than any other, every lord of a fief vested with power of capital jurisdiction, was permitted the full exercise, within his own castle, of the pretended reformed religion. Every lord, not possessed of such power was allowed thirty persons to be present at divine service. The full exercise of this religion was tolerated in every place under the immediate jurisdiction of a parliament.

The Calvinists were free to print books in every place where their religion was permitted, without applying to their superiors. They were declared capable of holding all the great offices and dignities of state; and every thing on their side appeared favourable, the king having created the lords of Tremouille and Roni dukes and peers of France.

A new chamber was purposely formed in the parliament of Paris, consisting of a president and sixteen counsellors. This court, which was called the Chamber of the Edict, took cognizance of, and determined all causes that concerned the reformed, not only in the immense district of Paris, but likewise in that of Normandy and Brittany. Indeed there never was but one Calvinist admitted by right among the counsellors of this jurisdiction : but as the principal design of it was to prevent those vexatious actions of which the party complained ; and as men always value themselves upon discharging a trust by which they are distinguished, this chamber, though composed of catholics, always rendered the most impartial justice to the Huguenots, as they themselves acknowledged.

They had a kind of lesser parliament at Castres, independent on that of Toulouse. They had likewise courts of justice at Grenoble and Bourdeaux, composed of one half Roman Catholics and the other Calvinists. Their churches assembled in synods in the same manner as the Gallican church. These privileges, together with many others, incorporated the Calvinists with the rest of the nation. It was in effect suffering enemies to league together ; but the authority, the goodness, and the address of this great monarch, kept them within bounds during his life.

After the tragical and much lamented death of Henry IV. during the weakness of a minority, and under a divided court, it was hardly possible for the republican spirit of the reformed not to abuse their privileges ; or for the court, feeble as it was, not to attempt to restrain them.

them. The Huguenots had already established circles in France, in imitation of those in Germany. The deputies of these circles were frequently men of a seditious turn, and there were in the party itself several noblemen of unbounded ambition. The duke of Bouillon, and above all the duke of Rohan, the chief who was in the greatest credit among the Huguenots, soon hurried the restless spirit of the preachers and the blind zeal of the people, into an open revolt. The general assembly of the party in 1616 had the boldness to present a remonstrance to the court, in which, among other insolent articles, they demanded a change in the king's council. In the same year 1616, they took up arms in several places; and, through the audacious behaviour of the party, joined to the divisions in the court, the public hatred against the favourites, and the unsettled state of the nation, every thing was for some time in the utmost disorder and confusion. Nothing prevailed but seditions, intrigues, menaces, insurrections, treaties made in haste, and broken as speedily, which made the famous cardinal Bentivoglio, at that time nuncio in France, say, that he had been witness of nothing but storms.

In the year 1621, the Calvinists churches of France offered Lesdigueres, that soldier of fortune, who was afterwards made constable, the command of their armies, with a salary of an hundred thousand crowns a month. But Lesdigueres, who was more clear-sighted in his ambition than they in their factions, and who knew them well, as having commanded them before, chose rather at that time to fight against them than be at their head, and instead of ac-

cepting their offers, turned catholic. The party afterwards applied to the marechal duke of Bouillon, who returned for answer, that he was too old. To conclude, they conferred that unhappy employment on the duke of Rohan, who jointly with his brother Soubise had the insolence to make war upon the king of France.

The same year the constable de Luines carried Lewis XIII. from province to province. He reduced to obedience upwards of fifty cities, almost without resistance, but failed before Montauban, whence the king had the mortification of being obliged to decamp. Rochelle was besieged in vain; that city continued to defend itself both by its own strength and the succours it received from England: and the duke de Rohan, a traitor to his country, concluded a peace with his sovereign, like one crowned head treating with another.

After this peace, and the death of the constable de Luines, there was a necessity of renewing the war, and Rochelle was again besieged; that city, which was always in league against its sovereign with the English, and the Calvinists of the kingdom. A woman, (the mother of the duke of Rohan,) defended this city a whole year against the king's army, against the active diligence of cardinal Richelieu, and the intrepid valour of Lewis XIII. who braved death more than once at this siege. The city suffered all the extremities of famine, and would not have been reduced at last, had it not been for the mole of five hundred feet long, which cardinal Richelieu ordered to be made across the mouth of the harbour, in imitation of that which Alexander the Great formerly raised

raised before the city of Tyre. This stupendous work at once subdued the sea and the Rochellers. Guiton, the mayor of Rochelle, who had formed the design to bury himself under the ruins of the place, had the boldness, after having surrendered at discretion, to appear before cardinal Richelieu, attended by his guards, the mayors of the principal Huguenot cities being allowed this mark of honour. Guiton's guards, however, were taken from him, and the city was divested of its privileges. The duke of Rohan, chief of the rebellious heretics, still continued the war against his prince; and finding himself abandoned by the English, though protestants, he entered into alliance with the Spaniards, though catholics. But the firm behaviour of cardinal Richelieu forced the Huguenots, at last, after being defeated on all sides, to submit.

All the edicts granted them before this time, having been so many treaties made with their kings, Richelieu resolved that the one he granted them on this occasion should be called The Edict of Grace. The king in it speaks in the style of a prince who pardons. The exercise of the new religion was forbid in Rochelle, the Isle of Rhé, Oleron, Privas, and Pamiers; in other respects the edict of Nantz was suffered to remain; which, by the Calvinists, was always looked upon as their fundamental law.

It seemed somewhat strange that cardinal de Richelieu, who was so absolute and daring, did not totally abolish this famous edict; but at that time he had something else in view, more difficult perhaps in the execution, but not less conformable to the extent of his ambition and

the loftiness of his designs. He aimed at the glory of subduing the minds of men, which he thought himself capable of effecting by the greatness of his understanding, his power, and his politics. His project was to gain the ministers, to bring them first to acknowledge that the Roman catholic worship was not criminal in the sight of God; to lead them afterwards by degrees, to give up some points of little importance, and to appear in the eyes of the court of Rome, as if he had yielded nothing at all. He made sure of dazzling one party of the reformed, of seducing the other by presents and pensions, and to appear at length to have united them to the church; leaving to time to accomplish the rest, and indulging himself in the glorious prospect of having effected, or prepared the way for this great work, and passing for the author of it. The famous father Joseph on one side, and two ministers he had gained on the other, set about this negotiation. But it appeared that the cardinal had made too sure; and that it is more difficult to adjust the differences of divines, than to raise moles in the ocean.

Richelieu, thus disappointed, resolved entirely to crush the Calvinists; but cares of another nature hindered him from carrying his design into execution. He found himself obliged to combat, at the same time, all the grandees of the kingdom, the royal family, the whole house of Austria, and frequently Lewis XIII. himself. At length, amidst all these storms, he ended his days by a premature death, before he was able to complete his vast designs, leaving behind him

him a name more dazzling than dear and venerable.

In the mean time, after the taking of Rochelle, and the publication of the Edict of Grace, the civil wars ceased, and there remained only a trifling controversy. Large volumes were published on both sides, which nobody reads at present. The clergy, and especially the Jesuits, aimed at converting the Huguenots. The Huguenot preachers endeavoured to bring over some catholics to their opinion. The king's council was busied in issuing arrets about a burying-ground, which the two parties were disputing in a village; about a chapel built on some ground formerly belonging to the church; about schools, the jurisdiction of castles, interments, bells, and the like; in which the reformed seldom gained their cause. These trifling disputes were all now left of the former devastations and ravages. The Huguenots were without a leader, since they had lost the duke of Rohan, and that Sedan had been taken from the house of Bouillon. They even made a merit of remaining quiet during the factions of the Fronde, and the civil wars excited by the princes of the blood, the parliaments, and the bishops, when they pretended to make the king an offer of their service against cardinal Mazarine.

There were scarce any disputes about religion during the life of this minister. He made no scruple to bestow the place of comptroller-general of the finances upon a Huguenot of foreign extraction, named Hervard. The reformed were all of them admitted into the office of the revenue without exception.

Colbert, who revived the industry of the nation, and whom France may look upon as the founder of her commerce, employed a great number of Huguenots in arts, manufactures, and the navy. These useful engagements, which fully occupied them, softened by degrees the epidemic fury of controversy; and the glory which, for fifty years together, surrounded the throne of Lewis XIV. added to his power, and the firmness and vigour of his administration, extinguished in the Calvinist party, as well as in all orders of the state, the least idea of resistance. The magnificent feasts of a gay and gallant court threw an air of ridicule on the pedantry and reserve of the Huguenots. In proportion as good taste improved, the psalms of Marot and Beza began to inspire disgust. These psalms, which had charmed the court of Francis II. seemed only calculated for the populace in the reign of Lewis XIV. Sound philosophy, which began to make its way in the world towards the middle of this age, helped still more to put men out of conceit with religious disputes,

But while reason was gradually extending her influence over men, the spirit of controversy itself became instrumental in preserving the peace of the state: for the Jansenists beginning about this time to appear with some reputation, they acquired a considerable share in the esteem of those who are fond of such subtleties. They wrote at the same time against the Jesuits and Huguenots; these latter answered the Jesuits and the Jansenists. The Lutherans in the province of Alsace attacked all the three. A paper-war among so many different sects, at a
 2 time

time when the state was engaged in great designs, and the government was powerful, could not fail of becoming, in a few years, only an amusement for the idle part of the nation, which, sooner or later, always sinks into indifference.

Lewis XIV. was exasperated against the sectaries in religion, by the continual remonstrances of his clergy, by the court of Rome, and especially by the chancellor le Tellier and his son Louvois, both enemies to Colbert, and who had resolved to root out the reformed as rebels, because Colbert protected them as useful subjects. Lewis, wholly a stranger to the fundamental points of their doctrine, looked upon them, not without reason, as old revolutioners not entirely quelled. He applied himself at first to undermine by degrees, and on all sides, the fabric of their religion: churches were taken from them on the most slender pretexts, and forbid to marry the daughters of catholics; but in this they seemed to want policy, or at least to be ignorant of the power of a sex with which the court was otherwise so well acquainted. The intendants and the bishops endeavoured, by the most plausible contrivances, to get Huguenot children away from their parents. Colbert had orders, in 1681, not to admit any person of this religion into places in the revenue. They were excluded as much as possible from the corporations of arts and trades. The king, however, though he kept them under the yoke, did not always make them feel the whole weight of it. Edicts appeared, forbidding all violence against them; insinuations were mingled with severities, and the oppressions

sions they laboured under were at least covered with a shew of justice.

One very efficacious instrument of conversion was particularly used upon this occasion, which was money ; but they did not make a sufficient use of the expedient. Pelisson had the charge of this secret service ; the same Pelisson who was so long a Calvinist, and who is so well known by his writings, his copious eloquence, and his attachment to the superintendant Fouquet, whose secretary, favourite, and victim, he was. He had the good fortune to be convinced of his errors, and to change his religion, at a time when that change opened a way to fortune and preferment ; he took the ecclesiastical habit, and obtained several benefices, and the place of master of requests. About the year 1677, the king entrusted him with the revenues of the abbies of St. Germain des Prez, and Cluni, together with the revenues arising from the third part of all savings ; the whole to be distributed amongst those who would become converts. Cardinal le Camus, bishop of Grenoble, had already tried this method. Pelisson, charged with this negotiation, sent money into the provinces, recommending at the same time to those who had the care of distributing the sums, to make as many converts as possible with a little expence. Small sums distributed to a few indigent wretches swelled the list, which Pelisson presented every three months to the king, persuading him, at the same time, that every thing upon earth would at length give way to his generosity and power.

The council, encouraged by these small successes, which time would have rendered more con-

considerable, adventured, in 1681, to issue a declaration, permitting children to renounce their religion at the age of seven years: under the shadow of this decree, great numbers of children were seized in the provinces, in order to make them abjure; and troops were quartered upon the houses of their parents.

This precipitate step of the chancellor le Tellier and his son Louvois was the occasion that, in 1681, a great many families of Poitou, Saintonge, and the neighbouring provinces, abandoned the kingdom.

Strangers, with eagerness, took advantage of this circumstance; the kings of England and Denmark, and the city of Amsterdam in particular, invited the Calvinists to take refuge in their territories, promising them ample subsistence. Amsterdam alone undertook to build a thousand houses for such as should fly thither for an asylum.

The council soon perceived the dangerous consequences of a too speedy use of authority, and thought to find a remedy in that very authority. They were sensible how necessary artificers were in a country where commerce flourished, and seamen at a time when they were establishing a naval force. The punishment of the gallies was therefore denounced against all of these professions who should attempt to quit the kingdom.

It being observed that a great number of Calvinist families sold their estates, a proclamation immediately appeared, confiscating all those estates, in case the seller should leave the kingdom within a year. The persecution against the ministers was now resumed with double severity.

verity. Their churches were shut up upon the most frivolous pretences, and all the rents left by will to their consistories, were applied to the hospitals of the kingdom.

The masters of Calvinist schools were forbid to receive boarders. The ministers were taxed, and protestant mayors were deprived of their right of noblesse. The officers of the king's household, and the king's secretaries, who were protestants, had orders to resign their places. None of this religion were any longer admitted, either among the notaries, attorneys, or advocates.

The clergy were strictly enjoined to use their utmost endeavours to make proselytes, while perpetual banishment was denounced against those protestant ministers who should make any. All these ordonnances were publicly solicited by the clergy of France, who, like children of a household, were resolved not to share their inheritance with aliens introduced by force.

Pelisson went on buying converts; but M^{rs}. Hervard, widow of the comptroller-general of the finances, animated with that zeal for religion which has been observed in all ages to belong to the women, sent as much money to prevent conversions as Pelisson had done to procure them.

1682 At length the Huguenots took courage, and rose in some places. They assembled in the Vivares and in Dauphiny, near the places where their churches had been demolished. They were attacked, and they defended themselves. This was a small spark of the fire of our ancient civil wars. Two or three hundred miserable wretches, without a leader, without

without towns, and even without any regular plan of design, were dispersed in a quarter of an hour. Their punishment immediately followed their defeat. The intendant of Dauphiny caused the grandson of the minister, Chamier, who had drawn up the edict of Nantz, to be broke upon the wheel. He is ranked among the most famous martyrs of the sect; and the name of Chamier has been long held in veneration by the protestants.

The intendant of Languedoc caused the minister Chomel to be broke upon the wheel. 1683
Three more were condemned to the same punishment, and ten to be hanged; but they saved themselves by flight, and were only executed in effigy.

All these rigorous proceedings inspired terror, and at the same time encreased the spirit of obstinacy. It is but too well known, that people become more attached to a religion in proportion as they suffer for its sake.

And now it was, that those about the king insinuated to him, that, after having sent missionaries into all the provinces, it behoved him likewise to send dragoons. These violences seemed very ill-timed, and were the consequences of the spirit which then prevailed at court, that every thing ought to submit to the will of Lewis XIV. These counsellors never considered that the Huguenots were no longer the same as at Jarnac, Moncontour, and Coutras; that the rage of civil war was now extinguished; that this malady, of long continuance, was now upon the decline; that every thing has its limited time of duration with mankind; that, if the fathers had been rebels under Lewis.

XIII.

XIII. their children were become good subjects under Lewis XIV. It was seen in England, Holland, and Germany, that many sects, who had torn each other in pieces during the last age, now lived peaceably together within the walls of the same city. Every thing proved, that an absolute prince might be equally well served by catholics and by protestants. The Lutherans of Alsace were unanswerable proofs of this maxim. In the end, it appeared, that queen Christina was not mistaken in what she says, in one of her letters on the subject of these oppressions and desertions: "I look upon France as a patient, whose physicians order his legs and arms to be cut off, to cure him of a disorder which patience and mild treatment would have entirely got the better of."

Lewis XIV. who, in seizing upon Strasburg in 1681, engaged to protect Lutheranism, might have acted in the same manner by Calvinism, which time would have insensibly abolished, as it ever day diminishes the number of Lutherans in Alsace. Could it be imagined, that in putting this force upon a great number of his subjects, he would not lose many more, who, in spite of all his edicts and guards, would by flight avoid a violence which they looked upon as a horrible persecution? and, in fact, why should a million of people be compelled to hate a name so dear and precious, and to which both protestants and catholics, Frenchmen and strangers, had agreed to join the epithet of Great? Policy itself seemed to require a toleration of the Calvinists, in order to oppose them to the continual pretensions of the court of Rome. It was about this very time too, that the king had
openly

openly broke with pope Innocent XI. the declared enemy of France. But Lewis reconciling the interests of his religion with those of his grandeur, was resolved to humble the pope with one hand, and crush the Calvinists with the other.

He considered these two enterprizes as productive of that lustre of glory, of which he was in all things fond even to a degree of idolatry. The bishops, several of the intendants, and the whole council, made him believe that his troops would, by their bare appearance, finish what his liberalities and missions had already begun.

He thought that in this he did no more than make use of his authority; but those to whom that authority was committed, exerted it with extreme rigour.

Towards the end of the year 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Lewis XIV. always strongly armed, had nothing to fear from any of his neighbours, troops were sent into all the cities and castles where the protestants were most numerous; and as the dragoons, who at that time were very ill disciplined, committed the greatest excesses, this execution was called the Dragonade.

All possible care was taken to guard the frontiers, in order to prevent the flight of those who were designed to be reunited to the church. It was a kind of chace carried on within a large enclosure.

A bishop, an intendant, a subdelegate, a curate, or some other person in authority, marched at the head of the soldiers. The principal Calvinist families were assembled; especially those who were deemed most tractable. They
re-

renounced their religion in the name of the rest, and those who continued obstinate were given up to the soldiery, who had every licence but that of killing; nevertheless, many persons were so cruelly treated, that they died soon after. The posterity of the refugees in foreign countries still cry out against this persecution of their fathers, comparing it to the most violent the church ever sustained in the first ages of Christianity.

It seemed a strange contrast, that such cruel and merciless orders should proceed from the bosom of a voluptuous court, distinguished for softness of manners, the graces, and all the charms of social life. The inflexible character of the marquis de Louvois appeared too plainly in this affair, and we see in it the same genius which had proposed to bury Holland under the waves, and afterwards laid waste the Palatinate with fire and sword. There are still extant letters written with his own hand in the year 1685, and conceived in these terms: "It is the king's pleasure, that such as refuse to conform to his religion should be punished with the utmost rigour, and particularly those who affect the foolish glory of being the last to comply."

Paris was not exposed to these vexations; the cries of the sufferers would have made themselves heard too near the throne.

While the churches of the reformed were thus every where demolished, and abjurations were demanded in the provinces with an armed force, the edict of Nantz was at last revoked, in the month of October 1685; this completed the ruin of that fabric which was already undermined on all sides.

The

The Chamber of the Edict had been suppressed some time before, and the Calvinist counsellors in parliament were ordered to resign their places. Arrets of council followed one upon another, like thunderbolts, to extirpate the remains of the proscribed religion. That which appeared to be the most fatal was the order for seizing the children of the pretended reformed, and putting them into the hands of their nearest catholic relations; an order against which the voice of nature cried so loudly, that it was never carried into execution.

But in this celebrated edict, which 1685
revoked that of Nantz, they seem to have paved the way to an event directly contrary to the end proposed. The intent was to procure a re-union of the Calvinists to the national church throughout the kingdom. Gourville, a man of consummate judgment, whom Louvois consulted in this affair, advised that minister, as is well known, to imprison all the preachers, and release such only, as being gained by private pensions, would abjure in public, and might by this means contribute more to the desired union than the missionaries and soldiers. Instead of following this politic advice, an edict was issued, ordering all the ministers who refused to renounce their religion to quit the kingdom in fifteen days. It was surely the utmost blindness to imagine that in driving away the pastors, a great part of the flock would not follow. It was presuming extravagantly upon power, and betraying a very slender knowledge of mankind, to suppose that so many ulcerated hearts, so many imaginations heated with the idea of martyrdom, especially in the southern parts

parts of France, would not run all risks to go and publish their constancy, and the glory of their exile, in foreign countries, when so many nations, envious of Lewis XIV. were ready to receive them with open arms.

The old chancellor le Tellier, when he signed the edict, cried out in an ecstasy of joy: *Nunc dimitis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.* "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation." He did not imagine that he was then setting his hand to an act, which would be productive of the greatest mischief to his country*.

His son, Louvois, was no less deceived, when he thought that a bare order of his would be sufficient to shut the frontier-passes and sea-ports, against those who thought their duty obliged them to fly. Industry, when employed to elude the law, is always too strong for authority. The gaining over some few of the guards was sufficient to favour the flight of a number of refugees. No less than fifty thousand families quitted the kingdom in the space of three years; and were afterwards followed by others, who carried their arts, manufactories, and riches,

* In reading the funeral-oration of this chancellor, pronounced by Bossuet, we see him represented as a good and a great man. If we look into the Annals of the abbé de St. Pierre, we shall find him a mean-spirited and dangerous court-sycophant, one particularly skilful in the art of calumniating, of whom the count de Grammont said one day, on seeing him come out from a private conference with the king: "Methinks I see a fox that has just been devouring a brood of chickens, and is licking his lips, stained with their blood."

into other countries with them. Almost all the north of Germany, a country till then rude and void of industry, received a new face from the multitudes transplanted thither, who peopled whole cities. Stuffs, gold and silver lace, hats, stockings, formerly bought of France, were now manufactured in those countries by them. A part of the suburbs of London was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk, others carried thither the art of making crystal in perfection, which was about this time lost in France. The gold which the refugees brought with them, is still very frequently to be met with in Germany*.

Thus France lost about five hundred thousand inhabitants, an immense quantity of specie, and what is still more, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves. Holland gained excellent officers and soldiers. The prince of Orange, and the duke of Savoy, had entire regiments of refugees. Some went even as far as the Cape of Good Hope to settle. The nephew of the famous du Quesne, lieutenant-general of the marine, founded a small colony at that extremity of the globe; but it did not prosper, for most part of those who went on board perished by the way.

In vain the prisons and galleys were filled with those who were stopt in their flight; what could be done with such a multitude of wretches whom sufferings made more bold? how could

* The count d'Avaux, in his letters, says he was informed, that at London there were sixty thousand guineas coined with the gold which the refugees had sent over thither; but this account is too much exaggerated.

persons bred to the law, and infirm old men, be left to perish in the galleys? Some hundreds were sent over to America: at length the council began to think, that if they no longer prohibited leaving the kingdom, the minds of the people being no longer instigated by the secret pleasure of disobeying, desertions would become less frequent. But here they were again mistaken, and after leaving the passages open, guards were a second time planted to no purpose.

After all the churches of the reformed were demolished and their pastors banished, nothing more remained but to retain in the Roman communion, such as through fear or persuasion had quitted their religion. There were about four hundred thousand of these in the kingdom*. These were obliged to go to mass, and to communicate: some who refused the host after having once received it, were burnt alive. The bodies of such as refused to receive the sacrament at their death were drawn upon a hurdle, and left unburied.

Persecution always makes proselytes, especially when it happens to encounter a heat of enthusiasm. The Calvinists assembled every where to sing their psalms, though the penalty of death was denounced against all such as should hold these assemblies. Ministers returning into

* It has been several times asserted in print, that there still remained three millions of the reformed in France. This is an insufferable exaggeration; Mr. Baviile reckoned but one hundred thousand in Languedoc, and his account is exact. There are not above fifteen thousand in Paris; and there are several cities, and even whole provinces, in which there is not one.

the kingdom were likewise to suffer death, and a reward of fifty-five thousand livres was promised to whosoever should inform against them. Several returned, and where either hanged or broke upon the wheel.

The sect, however, still subsisted, though in appearance crushed. It vainly hoped in the war of 1689, that king William, who had dethroned his father-in-law, who was a Roman catholic, would support Calvinism in France; but in the war of 1701, fanaticism and rebellion again broke out in Languedoc.

It was now some considerable time since, in the mountains of Cevennes and Vivares, certain persons had appeared, pretending to the gifts of inspiration and prophecy. An old Huguenot named des Serres had there kept a school of prophets. He directed children to those words of scripture: "When two or three are met together in my name, my spirit shall be in the midst of them; and if you had faith like a grain of mustard seed, you would be able to remove mountains." He afterwards received the spirit, was beside himself, fell into convulsions, his voice changed, he became immovable, with his hair standing on end, according to the ancient usage of all nations, and the rules of prophetic madness, handed down from generation to generation. The children under his care thus received the gift of prophecy; and if they were not able to remove mountains, it was because they had faith enough to receive the spirit, but not to work miracles; accordingly they redoubled their zeal and fervour to obtain this last gift.

Whilst the Cevennes was thus the school of enthusiasm, some of the ministers, called apostles, returned secretly to preach among the people.

Claude Brousson, of a considerable family in Nimes, a man of eloquence, of great zeal, and in the highest esteem among strangers, returned to preach in his own country in 1698. He was convicted, not only of preaching contrary to the edicts, but of having about ten years before held private correspondence with the enemies of the state. The intendant Baviile condemned him to be broke upon the wheel. He died after the manner of the first martyrs. 1688. All those of his own sect, and even all foreigners, far from considering him as a criminal of state, saw in him only a saint, who had sealed the faith with his blood.

After this, prophets began to start up every where, and the spirit of phrenzy redoubled. Unhappily in 1703, an abbé of the family of Chaila, an inspector of the missions, obtained an order from the court, to shut up in a convent two daughters of a gentleman lately converted. Instead of conveying them to the convent, however, he carried them to his own castle. The Calvinists took the alarm, flocked together in crouds, broke open the doors, and set the two young ladies at liberty, with other persons, they found confined there. They afterwards seized upon the abbé, to whom they made an offer of his life, on condition he would change his religion; upon his refusing, one of their prophets cried out, "Die then! the spirit condemns thee, thy sin be upon thine own head!"
and

and instantly he was shot to death. Immediately after this exploit, they seized the receivers of the capitation tax, and hanged them with their rolls about their necks; after that they fell upon all the priests they met, and massacred them without mercy. Finding themselves pursued, they retired amidst the woods and rocks. Their number daily encreased. Their prophets and prophetesses declared to them, as from God, that the establishment of Jerusalem and the fall of Babylon was now at hand. The abbé de Bourlie appeared unexpectedly among them, in the midst of their wild lurking places, and brought them money and arms.

This man was a son of the marquis de Guiscard, the king's sub-governor, who was one of the wisest men in the kingdom. The son was unworthy of such a father. Having taken refuge in Holland on account of some crime, he now came to excite a revolt in the Cevennes. Some time after, he went to London, where he was arrested in 1711, for betraying the English ministry, as he had before betrayed his own country. Being brought before the council in order to be examined, he snatched up a long pen-knife, which lay upon the table, and which seemed proper for perpetrating his purpose, and with it wounded the lord treasurer Harley. Upon this, he was sent to prison loaded with irons. He prevented the punishment prepared for him by a voluntary death. This was the man then, who, in the names of the English, the Dutch, and the duke of Savoy, came to encourage the fanatics, and promise them powerful succours.

Great part of the country favoured
 1703 them secretly. Their war-cry (if I may
 so term it) was "Liberty of conscience and no
 taxes." This cry seduced the populace every
 where, and these mad fanatics justified Lewis
 XIV. in his design of extirpating Calvinism.
 But had not the edict of Nantz been revoked,
 there would have been no such frenzies and in-
 surrections to quell.

The king, at first, sent marshal de Mont-
 revel with some troops, who made war upon
 these wretches as they deserved. Those who
 were taken prisoners were broke upon the
 wheel, or burnt at the stake. But then the
 soldiers, who fell into their hands, were made
 to expire by the most cruel tortures. The king,
 who was engaged in war on all sides, could
 only spare a few troops to send against them.
 It was a matter of no small difficulty to surprize
 them amidst rocks almost inaccessible, in ca-
 verns, in woods, whither they retired by un-
 frequented paths, and whence they sallied again,
 like wild beasts from a forest. They even defeat-
 ed a body of marine troops in a pitched battle.
 Three marshals of France were employed
 against them successively.

Marshal de Montrevel was, in 1704, suc-
 ceeded by marshal Villars, who finding it more
 difficult to come at them, than to defeat them,
 after he had infused terror into them, he pro-
 posed a general amnesty. Some amongst them
 gladly accepted of it, finding themselves disap-
 pointed of the succours they expected from
 Savoy.

The most considerable of their chiefs, and in-
 deed the only one who deserves to be mentioned,

was

was Cavalier. I have seen him since in Holland and England. He was a little, fair man, of an agreeable and engaging countenance. His party gave him the name of David: from a baker's boy, he, at the age of twenty-three, became the chief over a great multitude of people, through his own courage and the assistance of a prophetess, who got him acknowledged chief, by an express order of the Holy Ghost. He was found at the head of eight hundred men, whom he had formed into a regiment, at the time that the amnesty was proposed. He demanded hostages of marshal Villars, which were sent him. He then came to Nimes, accompanied by one of the chiefs, while he concluded the treaty with the marshal.

He promised to form four regiments of the revolted, who were to serve the king under four colonels, of which he was ¹⁷⁰⁴ to be the first himself, and to have the naming of the other three. These regiments were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion, like the foreign troops in the pay of France. but this freedom was to be permitted no where else.

These conditions were accepted, when emissaries from Holland arrived, with presents and promises, to prevent their being carried into execution. They succeeded so well, as to draw off the principal fanatics from Cavalier: but he, having given his word to marshal Villars, was resolved to keep it. He accepted a colonel's commission, and began to form his regiment, with a hundred and thirty men, who still continued faithful to him.

I have frequently heard, from marshal Villars's own mouth, that he asked this young man how, at his years, he could have acquired so great authority over men so savage and undisciplined. His answer was, that, whenever they disobeyed him, his prophets, whom they termed the Great Mary, became immediately inspired, and condemned to death the refractory, who were immediately executed without any further ceremony *. Having myself since that time, put the same question to Cavalier, he returned me the same answer.

This very extraordinary negotiation happened after the battle of Hochstet. Lewis XIV. who had so haughtily proscribed Calvinism, concluded a peace, under the name of an amnesty, with a baker's lad, and marshal Villars presented him with his colonel's commission, and a brevet or grant of one thousand two hundred livres *per annum*.

The new colonel went to Versailles, to receive orders from the secretary of war. The king when he saw him shrugged up his shoulders. Cavalier, finding himself closely observed by the ministry, was apprehensive of some foul play, and withdrew into Piedmont, from whence he afterwards passed to Holland and England. He served in Spain, and commanded a regiment of French refugees at the famous battle of Almanza. A circumstance which

* This circumstance should be met with in the true memoirs of marshal Villars. The first volume I know to be of his writing, because it agrees with a manuscript that I have seen; the two other volumes are by another hand, and differ widely in many respects.

happened to this regiment shews to what^a pitch the rage of civil war may be carried^b especially when heightened by religion. The regiment commanded by Cavalier happened to be opposed to one of the French. As soon as the men knew each other, they began a bloody fight with their bayonets, without firing a single musket. I have already observed, that the bayonet is of very little use in a battle. The behaviour of the front line of three deep, after having thrown in their fire, usually decides the fate of the day: but here rage and fury exceeded the brightest deeds of valour; there were not above three hundred men alive out of these two regiments. Marshal Berwick was wont to relate this adventure with astonishment.

Cavalier died a general-officer, and governor of the island of Jersey, with a great reputation for valour, retaining nothing of his former transports but courage, and having by degrees substituted prudence in the place of a fanatic fury, which was no longer supported by any example*.

Marshal Villars, being recalled from Languedoc, was succeeded in command by marshal Berwick. The ill success of the king's arms had emboldened the fanatics of Languedoc, who expected succours from heaven, and received them from the allies. Money was sent to them by the way of Geneva. They waited for offi-

* Matters are here a little too much exaggerated. Cavalier was always reckoned an honest man in England: but, his understanding was ever held in contempt. He was only lieutenant-governor of Jersey, a place of no great consequence.

cers to be sent them from Holland and England, and they had intelligence in all the towns of the province.

We may rank in the number of the greatest conspiracies that which they formed to seize the duke of Berwick and the intendant Baviile at Nimes, to make Languedoc and Dauphiny revolt, and to introduce the enemy into these provinces. The secret was kept by upwards of a thousand conspirators. The indiscretion of a single person discovered the whole. Upwards of two hundred died by the hands of the executioner. Marshal Berwick destroyed without mercy all these unhappy wretches that came in his way. Some died with their arms in their hands; others upon the wheel, or amidst the flames; some, more addicted to prophecy than the use of arms, found means to escape into Holland. The French refugees there received them as messengers from heaven. They went forth to meet them singing psalms, and strewing their way with boughs of trees. These prophets went afterwards to England; but finding that the episcopal church there had too much resemblance with that of Rome, they strove to set up their own; and so strong was their confidence, that, not doubting but with a great share of faith they should be able to perform miracles, they offered to raise a person from the dead, and even any one that should be chosen. The populace are every where the same, and the presbyterians might have joined those fanatics against the established church. The English ministry therefore took that course which should be always taken with workers of miracles. They were allowed to take up a dead

dead body in the church-yard of the cathedral. The place was surrounded with guards: every thing passed in a juridical manner, and the scene ended with sentencing the prophets to stand on the pillory.

These excesses of fanaticism could meet with but little encouragement in England, where philosophy began to establish its reign. They had ceased to disturb Germany since the treaty of Westphalia, by which equal protection was given to the three religions, the catholic, the evangelic, and the reformed. The republic of the United Provinces, by a politic toleration, admitted into its bosom all religion whatever. In short, towards the end of this century, France was the only state that experienced any violent ecclesiastical disputes, notwithstanding the progress of reason.

This reason, which is so slow in introducing itself among the learned, could as yet hardly make its way to the doctors, and still less among the common people. It requires to be first established among those of superior rank and capacity, from whence it descends lower by degrees, till at length it comes to govern the people, even though they are unacquainted with it; but seeing their superiors behave with prudence and moderation, they learn to do the same themselves. This however is one of the great works of time, and that time was not yet come*.

* Mr. de Voltaire cannot be too much commended for the spirit of independence, candour, and moderation, so sensibly and elegantly displayed in this chapter.

C H A P. CCVIII.

Of JANSENISM.

CALVINISM from its very nature necessarily produced civil wars, and shook the foundations of states. Jansenism could only raise theological disputes and paper wars; for the reformers of the sixteenth century having destroyed all the ties by which the Romish church held mankind, having treated what she held most sacred as idolatry, having set open the doors of her cloisters, and given her treasures into the hands of the laity, it necessarily followed that one of the two parties must be subdued by the other; and indeed the religion of Luther and Calvin never appeared in any country without being the cause of bloodshed and persecution.

But the Jansenists did not attack the church^r nor did they strike at her fundamental tenets, or her wealth, but by writing upon abstracted questions, sometimes against the Calvinists, sometimes against the Catholics and the popes decrees, they at length fell into general contempt; and their sect is now despised by almost all Europe, notwithstanding that it has been supported by several persons of distinguished characters and abilities.

While the Huguenot party was an object of the most serious attention, Jansenism rather perplexed than disturbed the state. This controversy, like many others, had its rise from abroad. It was begun in 1552, by a certain
doctor

doctor of Louvain, named Michael Bay, or Baius, according to the pedantry of those times. This man took upon him to maintain certain propositions concerning grace and predestination. This question like almost all others in metaphysics, had its foundation in the labyrinth of fatality and free will, in which all ages have been bewildered, and where man has no clue to direct his steps.

The spirit of enquiry, which has been implanted in us by the Creator, and is a necessary incitement to guide us to instruction, too often carries us beyond the proper bounds, in the same manner as many other movements of the soul, which if not strong enough to carry us to extravagant lengths, would perhaps want sufficient power to excite us properly.

Thus mankind have run into disputes upon what is understood and what is not understood: but the ancient philosophers always carried on their controversies peaceably, whereas those of our divines are frequently bloody, and always turbulent.

The Franciscans, who understood as little of these points as Michael Baius himself, looked upon the doctrine of free-will as overthrown, and the tenets of Scotus in danger. They had before been irritated against Baius, on account of a dispute of much the same nature; so that they referred seventy-six of his propositions before Pius V. And Sixtus Quintus, then general of the Franciscan order, was the person who drew up the bull of condemnation in the year 1567.

Whether through the fear of exposing themselves, a dislike to entering into a disquisition on

such subtleties, or an indifference and contempt for the theses of Baius, they condemned his seventy-six propositions in general as favouring of heresy, ill-sounding, rash, and suspicious, without specifying any thing in particular, or entering into a detail. This method of proceeding borders very near upon absolute power, and leaves little room for disputation. The doctors of Louvain were greatly confounded when they received the bull. There was one particular sentence in which by the position of a comma, certain opinions of Michael Baius were either condemned or admitted. The university sent a deputation to Rome, to know of his holiness where the comma was to be placed. The court of Rome, which had other business upon its hands, sent the deputies back with no other answer than a fresh copy of the bull, in which there was no comma at all. This was deposited in the archives. The grand vicar, whose name was Morillon, insisted that the bull ought to be received, "even though it should be erroneous." Morillon was certainly right in a political sense; for undoubtedly it is much better to receive an hundred erroneous bulls, than to reduce as many towns to ashes, as the Huguenots and their adversaries have done. Baius took Morillon's advice, and quietly retracted his opinion.

Some years afterwards, Spain, which was as fruitful in scholastic writers as it was barren in philosophers, produced the Jesuit Molina, who thought he had clearly discovered the manner in which God acts upon the creature, and how the latter resists his operations. He distinguished between natural and supernatural orders, predesti-

destination to grace, and predestination to glory; preventing and co-operating grace. He was the first who invented the doctrine of concomitant concurrence, of intermediate knowledge, and congruism. The two latter in particular were new ideas. God, by his intermediate knowledge, skilfully consults the will of man to know what man would do if he was assisted with his grace, and then according to the use which he foresees a free agent would make thereof, he takes his measures for disposing man; and these measures make what is called congruism.

The Spanish Dominicans, who understood no more of this explanation than the Jesuits, but were jealous of them, declared in their writings that "Molina's book was the forerunner of Antichrist."

The court of Rome took cognizance of this dispute, which was then under the consideration of the grand inquisitor, and with great prudence imposed silence upon both parties, which however was observed by neither.

At length the affair came to be seriously pleaded before Clement VIII. and to the disgrace of human understanding, all Rome took part in the cause. A Jesuit, by name Achilles Gaillard, assured the pope, that he had certain means to restore the peace of the church; and very gravely proposed to allow of free predestination, provided the Dominicans would admit the mediate science, and reconcile the two systems as well as they could. The Dominicans refused to accept of Gaillard's expedient. Their famous brother Lemos maintained preventive concurrence

rence as the completion of active virtue. Numberless congregations started up on this occasion, without knowing any thing of what each other meant.

Clement VIII. died before he was able to reduce the arguments on each side to a clear sense. Paul V. renewed the trial: but as he was engaged in a contest of greater importance with the Venetian state, he put a stop to all those meetings, then known by the name de Auxiliis. This name, by which they are still known, and which is equally obscure with the disputes in question, was given them because it signifies assistance, and that this controversy related to the assistance which God gives to the weak will of mankind. Paul V. terminated the affair, by enjoining the two parties to live in peace.

While the Jesuits were thus establishing their doctrine of mediate knowledge and congruism, Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, revived some of Baius's notions in a large volume which he wrote on St. Augustin, and which was not printed till after his death; so that he became the head of a sect without once dreaming of it. This book was scarcely read by any one, notwithstanding the disturbance it has occasioned. But du Verger de Haurane, abbot of St. Cyron, a great friend to Jansenius, a man as violent in his temper as he was prolix and obscure in his writings, came to Paris, where he found means to gain over some young doctors and old women. The Jesuits applied to the court of Rome to have Jansenius's book condemned, as a supplement to that of Baius; this they obtained in the year 1641. But at Paris

the faculty of divines, and all those who dealt in argumentation, were divided in their opinions. There did not seem much to be gained by adopting the sentiments of Jansenius, that God commands impossibilities. This doctrine is neither philosophical nor consolatory. But the secret pleasure of being of a party, the general odium which the Jesuits had incurred, the desire of being singular, and a restlessness of mind formed a sect.

The faculty condemned five propositions of Jansenius, by a plurality of voices: these five propositions were extracted from his book with great fidelity, as to the sense, but not in his own words. Sixty doctors appealed to parliament for an abuse, and the parties were summoned to appear before the Chamber of Vacations.

The parties themselves however did not make their appearance. But on the one hand a doctor named Habert, stirred up the minds of the people against Jansenius, while on the other side, the famous Arnauld, the disciple of St. Cyran, defended Jansenism with all the force of an impetuous eloquence. He hated the Jesuits even more than he loved efficacious grace, and was held in still greater hatred by them, as being born of a father who having applied himself to the bar, had pleaded with great vehemence for the university against their establishment. His family had acquired great credit, both in the army and long robe. His genius and the circumstances in which he then was, determined him to engage in a paper war, and to set up for the head of a party: a kind of ambition which makes all others give way to it.

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He continued to wage war against the Jesuits till he was eighty years of age. There are an hundred and four volumes of his writing, of which hardly one is at present to be found among the classical books which are the ornaments of the age of Lewis XIV. and are justly esteemed the library of all nations. His works were all of them in great vogue at the time he lived, both on account of the reputation of the author, and the then warmth of disputation. But that warmth is now allayed, and the books themselves in a manner forgotten. None of them are now regarded, but those which simply relate to reasoning; his geometry, his rational grammar, and his logic in which he was deeply read. No one was ever born with a more philosophical turn of mind; but his philosophy was corrupted by a spirit of faction, which hurried him away; and for above sixty years involved a genius formed to enlighten mankind in wretched school disputations, and in those evils incident to obstinacy of opinion.

The university was divided with relation to the five propositions, as were likewise the bishops. Eighty-eight of the French bishops wrote in a body to pope Innocent X. requesting him to give his decision, and eleven others besought him not to do any thing in the affair. Innocent proceeded to sentence, and condemned each proposition apart, but without once quoting the pages from whence they were extracted, or those which preceded or followed.

This omission, which would not have been done in civil matters in the meanest courts of judicature, was done by the Sorbonne, the Jansenists, the Jesuits, and the supreme pontiff.

The basis of the five condemned propositions is evidently to be found in Jansenius : you have nothing more to do than to look into Vol. III. of the Paris edition, printed in 1641, where in page 138, you will find these very words : “ All this plainly and evidently demonstrates, that there is nothing more certain and fundamental in the doctrine of St. Augustin than that there are certain commands impossible, not only to the unbelieving, the blind, and the hardened, but even to the faithful and righteous, notwithstanding their will and efforts, according to the strength they are endued with ; and that they fail of grace, which can alone render these commands possible.” We also read in page 165, “ That, according to St. Augustine, Jesus Christ did not die for all men.”

Cardinal Mazarin obliged the assembly of the clergy to receive the pope's bull unanimously. He was at that time upon good terms with his holiness ; he did not love the Jansenists, and with good reason hated all factions.

The French church seemed now restored to peace ; but the Jansenists wrote so many letters, quoted so often St. Augustin, and got so many female converts to engage in their interests, that Jansenism prevailed more than ever after the bull was received.

A priest of St. Sulpice thought proper to refuse absolution to Mr. de Liencourt, because it had been said he did not believe the five propositions to be in Jansenius's book, and that he harboured heretics in his house. This was a fresh subject of scandal, and occasioned a new paper war, in which Dr. Arnould distinguished himself, and, in a letter which he wrote to a
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real or imaginary duke or peer, he maintained that the propositions which had been condemned were not in Jansenius, but were actually to be found in the writings of St. Augustin, and several other fathers. He moreover added, that "St. Peter was a righteous man, in whom grace, without which we can do nothing, was wanting."

It is true that St. Augustin and St. John Chrysostom had asserted the same thing; but time and circumstances, which change all things, made Arnauld culpable. As the most serious object to one party is the subject of pleasantry to the other, it was said on this occasion, that the holy fathers should have their wine mixed with water. The faculty met, and chancellor Seguier appeared at the assembly on the part of the king. Arnauld was condemned and excluded the Sorbonne in 1654. The appearance of the chancellor among the divines wore an air of despotic power, which displeased the public; and the care taken to fill the hall with a croud of mendicant monks, who were not wont to be seen there in such numbers, gave occasion to Paschal to say in his Provincial Letters, "That it was easier to find monks than arguments."

The greatest part of these monks did not admit of congruism, intermediate knowledge, nor the necessitating grace of Molina; but they maintained a sufficient grace to which the human will may consent but never does; an efficacious grace which it may resist and does not; and this they explained clearly, by saying, that this grace might be resisted in the divided, but no in the compound sense.

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If these sublime matters are not very agreeable to human reason, the opinion of Arnauld and the Jansenists seems too much to agree with pure Calvinism. This was exactly the ground of the quarrel between the Gomerians and Arminians, which divided Holland as Jansenism had divided France; but in Holland it became a political faction, rather than a dispute between persons at leisure. It stained the scaffold with the blood of Barnevelt, a deed of atrocious violence, which is now held in detestation by the Dutch, after having had their eyes opened to the absurdity of these disputes, the horror of persecution, and the happy necessity of toleration, the resource of wise governors against the short-lived enthusiasm of those who delight in controversy. In France this dispute produced only a few edicts, bulls, lettres de cachet, and pamphlets, because the state was at that time employed in quarrels of more importance.

Arnauld then was only excluded the faculty. This small persecution gained him a great number of friends: but both himself and the Jansenists had still the church and the pope against them. One of the first steps taken by Alexander VII. on his succeeding Innocent X. in the papal chair, was to renew the censures against the five propositions. The French bishops, who had readily drawn up one formulary, now framed a new one, which concluded in this manner; "I condemn, both with heart and voice, the doctrine of the five propositions contained in the book of Cornelius Jansenius, that doctrine not being of St. Augustin, whom Jansenius has badly explained."

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This formulary was afterwards to be subscribed, and the bishops presented it to all those in their dioceses who were suspected by them. They required the nuns of Port Royal of Paris, and Port Royal des Champs to sign it. These two houses were the sanctuaries of Jansenism, as being governed by Arnauld and St. Cyran.

There was an house set apart near the monastery of Port Royal des Champs, whither several learned and pious men had retired, but headstrong and linked together by conformity of opinion: here they amused themselves with instructing a select set of young persons. From this school came the celebrated Racine, a poet best acquainted with the human heart of any in the world. Pascal, the chief of French satyrists, for Despreaux was but the second, was intimately connected with these illustrious and dangerous recluses. The formulary was presented to the sisters of Port Royal of Paris, and Port Royal des Champs, for them to sign; but they made answer, that their conscience would not permit them to acknowledge, with the pope and bishops, that the five propositions were in Jansenius's book, which they had never read; that his meaning had certainly been mistaken, and, though the five propositions might perhaps be erroneous, yet that Jansenius himself was not to blame.

This obstinacy of theirs incensed the court. D'Aubry, the lieutenant-civil (for at that time there was no lieutenant de police) went to Port Royal des Champs, and obliged the religious recluses to quit the place of their retirement, together with the young people whom they educated:

ated: at the same time they threatened to destroy the two monasteries; but they were saved by a miracle.

Mademoiselle de Perrier, a boarder in the monastery of the Port Royal of Paris, and niece to the celebrated Pascal, was afflicted with a disorder in one of her eyes; at Port Royal they had a ceremony of kissing one of the thorns of the crown which had been put on the head of our Saviour. This thorn had been a long time preserved at Port Royal. It would not be very easy to prove how it was preserved and transported from Jerusalem to the suburbs of St. James. However, this young lady kissed the thorn, and happened to be cured of her disorder a short time afterwards. Upon this occasion, they did not fail to declare and affirm, that she had been cured in an instant of a dangerous fistula lachrymalis. This young woman lived till the year 1728. Several persons who had lived a considerable time with her, assured me, that her cure had been very long, which is indeed the most probable. But it is very unlikely, that God, who has not wrought any miracles to bring over to our holy religion three fourths of the earth, who are either strangers to it, or hold it in abhorrence, should have interrupted the order of nature, in favour of a young girl in order to justify a dozen nuns, who pretended that Cornelius Jansenius did not write ten or twelve lines which were ascribed to him, or that he wrote them with a different intention to that imputed to him.

The miracle, however, made so great a noise, that the Jesuits durst not deny the reality of it. They therefore fell upon the scheme of working miracles

miracles on their side, but they did not succeed equally well: the miracles of the Jansenists were the only ones in fashion at that time. A few years afterwards these latter performed another miracle. One sister Gertrude of Port Royal, was cured of a swelling in her leg. This prodigy however met with no success: the time for those things was past, and sister Gertrude had not a Pascal for her uncle.

The Jesuits, though they had both popes and kings on their sides, were entirely sunk in the opinion of the people. They revived against them the old stories of Henry the Great, whose assassination was plotted by Barriere, and executed by Chatêl, who had been educated in their schools; the punishment of father Guignard, and the banishment of their society from France and Venice. Every method was practised to render them odious. Pascal went still further, he made them ridiculous. His Provincial Letters, which made their appearance at that time were models of eloquence and railery. The best comedies of Moliere have not more wit in them than the first part of those letters, nor the writings of Bossuet more sublimity than the latter.

It is true, that the whole of this book is founded upon false principles. He has artfully charged the whole society with the extravagant opinions of some few Spanish and Flemish Jesuits; which he might with equal ease have detected among the casuists of the Dominican and Franciscan orders; but the Jesuits alone were the persons he wanted to attack. In these letters, he endeavoured to prove that they had a settled design to corrupt the morals of mankind:

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a design which no sect or society ever had or ever could have. But his business was not to be right, but to divert the public.

The Jesuits, who at that time had not one good writer amongst them, could not wipe off the scandal cast upon them by this book, which was one of the best written that had yet appeared in France. But nearly the same thing happened with regard to them in their disputes, as did formerly to cardinal Mazarin. The Blots, Marignis, and Barbançons, had diverted all France at his expence, but the cardinal still continued master of the kingdom: in like manner, these fathers had sufficient interest to procure an arret of the parliament of Provence, ordering the Provincial Letters to be burnt, by which they made themselves still more ridiculous and odious to the nation.

The principal nuns were carried away from the abbey of Port Royal by a guard of two hundred men, and dispersed into other convents, none being allowed to remain but such as would sign the formulary. This affair interested all Paris. Sister Perdreau and sister Passart, who subscribed this formulary, and prevailed on some others to do the same, became the subjects of lampoons and humorous songs, with which the town was over-run by a parcel of idle persons, who seeing nothing but the ridiculous side of things, and make themselves merry with every occurrence, while those of a sincere faith are afflicted, adversaries find fault, and the government take its own measures.

The Jansenists became stronger by persecution. Four prelates, Arnauld bishop of Angers, brother to the doctor, Buzenval of Beauvais

vais, Pavillon of Alet, and Caulet of Pamiers, the same who afterwards opposed Lewis XIV. on the subject of the Regale, declared themselves openly against the formulary. This was a new formulary, framed by pope Alexander VII. alike in every thing essential to the former, received in France by the bishops, and even by the parliament. Alexander, incensed at this opposition, named nine French bishops to commence a process against their four refractory brethren. Upon this the spirit of animosity grew more outrageous than ever.

But just at the time that the flame of disputation was at the highest, to know whether five propositions were or were not in Jansen us, Rospigliosi became pope, under the name of Clement IX. and made every thing quiet for some time. He prevailed on the dissenting bishops to sign the formulary *sincerely*, instead of *purely* and *simply*. Thus it seemed permitted to believe, that tho' the five propositions were condemned, they might not be extracted from Jansenius. The four bishops gave some small explanations of their own, and Italian complaisance thus allayed French vivacity. One word substituted in place of another, brought about this peace, which is called *The peace of Clement IX.* and even *The peace of the Church*, though the whole affair had been only about a dispute, either unknown to, or despised by the rest of the world. It had been evident ever since the time of Baius, that the popes had always had in view to suppress these unintelligible controversies, and to bring the two parties to teach that morality which every one understands. Nothing could
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be more reasonable than such an intention in the pontiffs ; but they had to deal with men.

The government set at liberty the Jansenists who had been confined in the Bastile, and, amongst the rest, Saci, author of a version of the Testament. Several nuns were recalled from their exile, who all signed the formulary *sincerely*, and thought they triumphed by this expression. Arnauld now came forth from his retreat, and was presented to the king, kindly received by the pope's nuncio, and looked upon by the public as a father of the church. From that time he promised to enter the lists only against the Calvinists, for he must necessarily be engaged in some kind of dispute. In this time of tranquillity he sent into the world his book on the Perpetuity of Faith, in which he was assisted by Nicole, and this gave birth to the great controversy betwixt them and Claude the minister, a controversy in which each party, according to custom, claimed the victory.

The peace of Clement IX. having been given to restless minds that were perpetually in movement, proved but of short duration. Secret cabals, intrigues, and insults, continued on both sides.

The dutchess of Longueville, sister to the great Condé, so well known in the civil wars, and so noted for her amours, now grown old, and without any employment, became a votary to religion ; and as she hated the court and loved intrigue, she turned Jansenist. She added a wing to the abbey of Port Royal des Champs, whither she retired sometimes with the recluses. They were then in their most flourishing state. Arnauld, Nicole, le Maitre, Herman, Saci,
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and several other persons, who, though less famous, had nevertheless considerable merit, assembled at her house. In the room of that sprightly wit to which the dutchess had been accustomed at the Hotel de Rambouillet, they substituted conversations of a more solid kind, and that nervous and animated sense which so remarkably distinguished their compositions and discourses. They continued not a little to diffuse true taste and eloquence thro' France; but unhappily they were still more anxious to spread their opinions. They seemed to be themselves a proof of that doctrine of fatality with which they were reproached. It might be said that they were carried away by an irresistible determination to draw down upon themselves persecutions for mere chimerical notions, when they might have acquired the most solid reputation, and have enjoyed their lives in a happy tranquility, by only renouncing these frivolous disputes.

The Jesuitical faction, who still smarted from the satire of the Provincial Letters, stirred heaven and earth against their adversaries. Madame de Longueville, being no longer able to form cabals in favour of the malecontents, went to work in support of Jansenism. There were frequent meetings at Paris, sometimes at her house, and sometimes at Arnauld's. The king, who had already resolved to extirpate Calvinism, would not suffer a new sect. He threatened them; and at last Arnauld, dread-
 1679 ing to encounter enemies armed with sovereign authority, and being deprived of the support of the dutchess of Longueville, whom death had lately robbed him of, determined to

quit France for ever, and go to live in the Netherlands unknown, without fortune, and even without domestics; he whose nephew had been minister of state, and who might himself have been a cardinal: but the pleasure of writing with freedom outweighed every other consideration with him. He lived till the year 1694 in obscure retirement from the world, and known only to his friends, continually employed in writing, always the philosopher, superior to ill fortune, and to his last moments giving an example of a pure, resolute, and unshaken soul.

His party was always persecuted in the catholic Netherlands, called the County of Obedience, where the pope's bulls are sovereign laws; they were still more harrassed in France.

One thing very extraordinary is, that the question, "Whether the five propositions were really in Jansenius?" was always the sole pretext for these little intestine broils. The distinction of *de facto* and *de jure* now occupied the minds of many. At length, in 1701, they proposed a theological question which was called *Le cas de conscience par excellence*, "Whether the sacraments could be given to a person who, though he subscribed to the formulary, believed in his heart that the pope, and even the church, might be mistaken in facts?" Forty doctors gave it under their hands that absolution might be given to such a man.

Immediately the controversy was renewed; the pope and bishops insisted on being believed upon facts. Noailles, archbishop of Paris, decreed that belief was to be given to divine faith *de jure*, and to human faith *de facto*. Others
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again, amongst whom was Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, who was not well pleased with Noailles, demanded divine faith for the fact. It would have been better perhaps to have cited the passages in the book itself; but this was never done.

Pope Clement XI. published a bull in 1709, called *Vineam Domini*, by which he enjoined a belief *de facto*, without explaining whether it was of a divine or human faith.

It was a new custom introduced into the church to make women sign these bulls. This respect was again shewn to the sisters of Port-Royal des Champs, and cardinal de Noailles was obliged to cause it to be carried to them by way of trial. They signed it, without detracting any thing from the peace of Clement IX. and confining themselves to a respectful silence with regard to the case *de facto*.

It can hardly be said which is the most extraordinary, whether the confession insisted on from women, that five propositions were contained in a Latin book, or the obstinate refusal of these nuns.

The king applied to the pope for a bull for the suppression of their monastery. Cardinal de Noailles deprived them of the sacraments, and their advocate was confined in the Bastile. All the nuns were removed into separate convents that were more obedient. The lieutenant de police in 1709 ordered their house to be razed from the foundation; and lastly, in 1711, all the bodies that were buried in the church, and in the church-yard, were removed from thence, and carried elsewhere.

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The troubles, however, were not suppressed with this monastery. The Jansenists were still for caballing, and the Jesuits for making themselves appear necessary. Father Quênel, a priest of the oratory, a friend of the celebrated Arnauld, and who accompanied him in his retreat to his last moments, had, in 1671, composed a book of pious reflections on the text of the New Testament. This book contains some maxims which seem to favour Jansenism; but these are blended with such a number of pious sentiments, and are so replete with that soft persuasion which wins the heart, that the work was received with universal approbation. The good tendency of this book manifests itself in almost every line, and it requires the minutest search to discover the faults. Several bishops bestowed the highest encomiums on this book, even when imperfect, which they confirmed, when the author had put the finishing hand to it. I myself know that the abbe Renaudot, one of the most learned men in France, being at Rome the first year of Clement XI's pontificate, and going one day to wait upon this pope, who loved men of letters, and was himself a man of learning, found him reading father Quênel's book: "This is, said the pope, a truly excellent work; we have no one at Rome capable of writing in such a manner. I should be glad to bring the author to my court." This very pope afterwards condemned the book.

We must not, however, consider these encomiums of Clement XI. and his subsequent censure as a contradiction. A person may be touched with the shining beauties of a work at the first reading, and afterwards condemn faults

which then escaped his notice. Of all the French prelates, cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, gave the most sincere commendations to this book. He declared himself its patron when bishop of Chalons, and the work was dedicated to him. This cardinal was a person equally eminent for virtue and learning, of the most mild and amiable disposition, and a sincere friend to peace. He protected some of the Jansenist party, tho' not of their persuasion; and, without having any great affection for the Jesuits, he neither injured nor feared them.

This order began to acquire great influence when father la Chaise had the government of Lewis XIV's conscience, and in consequence was the head of the Gallican church. Father Quênel, dreading their power, had retired to Brussels with the learned Benedictine Gerberon, a priest named Brigode, and several others of the same party, of which he became the chief, after the death of the famous Arnauld, and, like him, enjoyed the flattering glory of establishing to himself a sovereignty independent of princes, of reigning over consciences, and of being the soul of a party composed of the brightest geniuses. The Jesuits soon found out Quênel in his retirement, and accused him to Philip V. who was still master of the Netherlands, persecuting him as they had done his master Arnauld with Lewis XIV. They obtained an order from the Spanish king
1703 to seize the person of these religious recluses. Quênel was thrown into prison in the archbishopric of Mechlin. A gentleman, who thought the Jansenist party would make his fortune if he could compass the deliverance of
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their chief, broke through the walls, and helped Quênel to make his escape, who returned to Amsterdam, wherè he died in 1719, in an extreme old age, after having contributed to establish some Jansenist churches in Holland: but this weak flock soon dwindled away.

When Quênel was taken into custody, they at the same time seized upon his papers, in which were found evident proofs of a formed party. There was a copy of an ancient contract made by the Jansenists with Antonietta Bourignon the celebrated fanatic, a woman of great fortune, who in the name of her spiritual director, had purchased the island of Nordstrand, near Holstein, as an asylum for those whom she pretended to associate into a mystical sect, which she proposed to establish.

This Bourignon had printed, at her own expence, nineteen large volumes of pious meditations, and had spent the half of her fortune in making proselytes. However, she succeeded only in making herself ridiculous; and had even suffered all the persecutions which are the consequences of innovations. At length, despairing of settling in her island, she sold it again to the Jansenists, who, like herself, were incapable of making any establishment there.

Amongst the manuscripts of Quênel, there was likewise found a project of a more criminal nature, had it not been so very foolish. Lewis XIV. having sent the count d'Avaux, in 1684, with full powers to grant a truce of twenty years to all the powers who were willing to accept of it, the Jansenists, under the title of "The disciples of St. Augustin," had formed

the idle scheme of getting themselves included in his truce, as if they had been really a formidable party, as the Calvinists had so long been. This ridiculous project, however, was not executed; but the propositions of a peace between the king of France and the Jansenists had been actually drawn up in writing. They had certainly a view in this scheme to make themselves too considerable. This alone was sufficient to make them culpable; and Lewis XIV. was easily persuaded to look upon them as a dangerous sect.

He wanted discernment, or he would have known, that empty and speculative notions will fall of themselves, if left to their own insignificance. It was giving them a degree of consequence which did not belong to them. It was no difficult matter to make Quênel's book appear culpable, after the author had been treated as a seditious person. The Jesuits prevailed upon the king to petition himself for a condemnation of this book at Rome. This was in fact condemning cardinal de Noailles, who had been one of its most zealous patrons. They flattered themselves, and not without reason, that Clement XI. would be glad of an opportunity to mortify the archbishop of Paris. It will be necessary to observe, that when Clement XI. was only cardinal Albani, he published a book written entirely on Molenist principles, by his friend cardinal de Sfrondati, and that Noailles had censured it. It was natural then to think, that now Albani was become pope, he would at least oppose the encomiums given to Quênel's book, as those bestowed on his friend's book had been before censured.

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This expectation proved to be well grounded, Pope Clement XI. in 1708, issued a decree against Quênel's book. But the situation of temporal affairs at that time hindered this spiritual business, which had been warmly solicited, from being carried on. The court was piqued at Clement XI. for having acknowledged the archduke Charles for king of Spain, after having before acknowledged Philip V. The decree was found in some places not valid, and was rejected in France, and the controversy lay dormant till the death of father de la Chaîse, the king's confessor, a man of a mild disposition, who was always ready to adopt pacific measures, and who always kept up a good understanding with cardinal de Noailles, as the relation of madam de Maintenon.

The Jesuits had a right to appoint a confessor for the king of France, as well as almost all the other catholic princes in Europe. They enjoy this privilege in virtue of their institution, by which they renounce all ecclesiastical dignities : so that what their founder established through humility, is become the means of grandeur. In proportion as Lewis XIV. advanced in years, the office of confessor became more important. This place was given to father le Tellier, son of an attorney of Viré in Lower Normandy ; a gloomy, hot-headed, and inflexible man, under the appearance of cool indifference ; he did all the hurt that could be done by one in his office, where there are but too many opportunities of inspiring such sentiments as one pleases, and of destroying an adversary ; and he had many private injuries to revenge.

The Jansenists had got one of his books on the Chinese ceremonies condemned at Rome. He had likewise a personal dislike to cardinal de Noailles, and he was not of a disposition to restrain his passions. He soon raised disturbances in the whole church of France. In 1711, he drew up letters and mandates to be signed by the bishops, and sent them several articles of accusation against cardinal de Noailles, to which they had only to sign their names. Such practices meet with proper punishment in secular affairs; but here, though they were discovered, they still succeeded *.

The king's conscience suffered as much from the mean arts of his confessor, as his authority did from a rebellious faction. Cardinal de Noailles in vain demanded justice of his majesty, for these mysteries of iniquity. The confessor persuaded him, that he made use of human means to bring about divine matters; and indeed,

* It is said in the Life of the Duke of Orleans, that the cardinal de Noailles having accused father le Tellier of selling church-livings, that Jesuit expressed himself thus to the king: "I freely consent to be burnt alive if this accusation can be proved, on condition that the cardinal shall suffer the same punishment if he does not prove it."

This story is taken from some of the pieces that were handed about on the affair of the Constitution, and these pieces are as full of absurdities as the Life of the Duke of Orleans. Most of them were written by a set of wretches, merely for the sake of getting money; these sort of people do not know, that a person who has his credit to maintain with a prince whose confessor he is, would hardly propose to that prince to condemn his archbishop to the flames for his vindication.

All the idle stories of this nature may be found collected in the Memoirs of Maintenon. We should be careful to distinguish between facts and hearsays.

as he defended the pope's authority, and the unity of the church, he seemed, in the main, to have right on his side. The cardinal applied to the Dauphin, duke of Burgundy, but found him prepossessed by the letters and friends of the archbishop of Cambray. Human frailty finds an entrance into every breast; Fenelon was not yet philosopher sufficient to forget, that cardinal de Noailles had been instrumental in getting him censured, and Quênél now suffered for madam Guion.

The cardinal found no greater support from the interest of madam de Maintenon. This affair is alone sufficient to shew the character of that lady, who had no sentiments of her own, and placed her whole study in conforming to those of the king. The few following lines of hers to the cardinal de Noailles will enable us form a true judgment of her, of father la Tellier's intrigues, and of the king's sentiments on this occasion; and give great light into the affair itself: "You are sufficiently acquainted with me (says she in a letter) to know what my thoughts are on the late discovery, but I have many reasons to be cautious how I say any thing. It is not my business to judge or condemn; I have only to be silent, and to pray for the church, for the king, and for you. I have delivered your letter to his majesty, who has read it: this is all I can say to you about it, being oppressed with sorrow."

The cardinal archbishop, being thus insulted by a Jesuit, took away the power of preaching and confessing from all the Jesuits in France, excepting only a few of the most moderate and discreet. By his place he had like-

wife the dangerous right of hindering le Tellier from confessing the king; but he did not dare to irritate his sovereign to such a degree; and there left him respectfully in the hands of his enemy *. “I am apprehensive (said he, writing to madame Maintenon) that I shew too mean a submission to the king, in thus leaving power in the hands of one so unworthy of it. I pray God that he will open his eyes to the danger he is in by entrusting his soul to a man of such a character †.”

We read in several of the memoirs of those times, that Tellier declared either he must lose his place, or the cardinal his. It is not improbable he might think so, but very unlikely that he should declare it.

When two parties are exasperated against each other, both frequently take steps which prove fatal to them. The partizans of father

* Consult madame de Maintenon's letters. It may easily be perceived that the author of this work was well acquainted with those letters before they were published, and that he has taken nothing upon trust.

† When we are provided with letters of such good authority, we may boldly venture to quote them, as being the most valuable materials in history; but what trust can be put in a letter which is supposed to have been written by cardinal de Noailles to the king, in which he is made to express himself thus: “I was the first who laboured to ruin the clergy, in order to save your state and support your throne. It is not allowable for you to demand an account of my conduct.” Is it probable that a wise and discreet subject should write so insulting and daring a letter to his sovereign? This is no other than a mean and false imputation; it is to be found in page 141. Vol. V. of the Memoirs of Maintenon, and, as it is destitute of all authority and probability, ought not to meet with the least regard.

le Tellier, and those bishops who aspired at a cardinalship, made use of the royal authority to blow up those sparks which might have been extinguished. Instead of imitating the conduct of Rome, which had several times imposed silence on both parties; instead of curbing the insolence of the Jesuit, and soothing the cardinal, instead of prohibiting these controversies, in the same manner as duels, and making the clergy, as well as the nobility, useful without being dangerous; in a word, instead of crushing the two parties by the weight of the supreme power, supported by reason and by all the magistrates, Lewis XIV. thought he acted right in soliciting Rome himself, for a declaration of war, and procuring that famous Constitution, which embittered all the remainder of his life.

Father le Tellier and his party sent an hundred and three propositions to Rome, to be there censured, of which the holy office condemned one hundred and one. This bull, which was published in the month of September 1713, raised a flame throughout the whole kingdom, as soon as it made its appearance in France. The king had applied for it, as a means to prevent a schism, and it was likely to produce one. The clamour against it was general, because, among those hundred and one propositions, there were several which appeared to every one to carry the most innocent meaning, and the purest morality. A numerous assembly of bishops was held at Paris: forty accepted the bull for the sake of peace, but at the same time, they added certain explanations, to quiet the scruples of the people. The direct and unreserved accepta-
tion

tion was sent to the pope, and the modifications were reserved for the people. By this means, they thought at once to satisfy the pope, the king, and the people; but cardinal de Noailles, and seven other bishops of this assembly, who joined with him, refused both the bull and its modifications: they wrote to the pope, requesting to have these modifications from his holiness himself. This was affronting him with the appearance of respect.

Accordingly the king would not permit it to be done, and hindered the letter being sent, remanded the bishops back to their dioceses, and forbade the cardinal to appear at court. This persecution procured the archbishop an additional share of credit with the public. The seven other bishops again joined him: there was now a real division in the episcopacy, among all ranks of the clergy, and all religious orders. Every one allowed, that the fundamental points of religion were not concerned in this dispute, and yet a civil dissention was raised in the minds of people, as if Christianity itself was in danger of being subverted, and as many political resources were put in action as in the most profane affairs.

These resources were chiefly employed to get the constitution received by the Sorbonne. And it was registered, notwithstanding the majority of votes was against it. The ministry
1714 could hardly find a sufficient number of letters de cachet to confine or banish those who opposed it.

This bull had been registered in parliament, with a proper reservation of the ordinary rights of the crown, the liberties of the Gallican church, and

and the power and jurisdiction of the bishops ; but the public clamour got the better of obedience. Cardinal de Bissi, one of the most zealous defenders of the bull, acknowledged that it could not have been received with greater indignity at Geneva than it was at Paris.

The people were particularly incensed against father le Tellier. Nothing is more apt to excite indignation than a priest exalted to power ; it seems a violation of his vows ; but if he abuses this power, he is held in execration. Le Tellier presumed so much on his influence, that he even proposed the deposing of cardinal de Noailles in a national council. Thus ¹⁷¹⁵ did this priest make his prince, his penitent, and his religion, subservient to his revenge ; and yet, with all this, I have strong reasons to believe that he was a well-meaning man : so apt are men to be blinded by their zeal and prejudices.

In order to prepare this council, which was to depose a man become the idol of Paris and of the whole kingdom, for the purity of his manners, the amiableness of his character, and still more by the persecution he suffered ; they prevailed on Lewis XIV. to order a declaration to be registered in parliament, by which every bishop, who had not received the bull *purely* and *simply*, should be obliged to subscribe it, or be prosecuted as a rebel by the advocate-general. Chancellor Voisin, secretary at war, a rigid arbitrary man, was the person who drew up this edict. D'Aguesseau, who understood the laws of the realm much better than Voisin, and had all that courage which youth naturally inspires, peremptorily refused to be concerned in such an affair.

affair. De Mesme, president of the council, demonstrated to the king the consequences likely to ensue. Thus the affair was protracted. The king was at this time in a dying condition, and these unhappy disputes greatly disquieted him, and contributed not a little to hasten his end. His merciless confessor was continually teasing him, tho' in this weak condition, by repeated exhortations to consummate a work which would have been far from endearing his memory. The king's domestics, filled with indignation at the confessor's behaviour, twice refused him entrance into his majesty's chamber, and at last earnestly conjured him not to speak to their royal master about the Constitution. Soon after the king died, and then a total change of affairs ensued.

The duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, having, immediately upon his assuming the reins of power, changed the whole form of Lewis XIV's government, and having substituted councils in the room of the offices of the secretaries of state, erected a council of conscience, of which cardinal de Noailles was made president. They banished father le Tellier, loaded with the hatred of the public, and very little beloved by his own fraternity.

The bishops who opposed the bull appealed to a future council *sine die*. The Sorbonne, the clergy of the diocese of Paris, and whole bodies of religious orders appealed likewise; and at length cardinal de Noailles made his appeal, in 1717, but he would not publish it at first; however it was printed, contrary to his inclination. The church of France remained divided into two factions, the Acceptants and the Recusants.

cusants. The acceptants consisted of an hundred bishops, who had adhered under Lewis XIV. to the Jesuits and Capuchins. The other consisted of fifteen bishops and the whole nation. The acceptants had the court of Rome for their defender; the recusants were supported by the universities, the parliament, and the people. Volume upon volume, and letter upon letter, was printed; and each party treated the other as schismatics and heretics.

An archbishop of Rheims, named Mailli, a great and successful partisan of Rome, had subscribed his name to two papers, which the parliament ordered to be burnt by the hangman. The archbishop, when he heard of this, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, and returned God thanks for having been thus ignominiously treated by schismatics. God rewarded him, and he was made a cardinal. The bishop of Soissons having been dealt with in the same manner by the parliament, signified to that assembly, "That it did not belong to them to judge, even in cases of high-treason." For this he was mulcted in the sum of ten thousand livres; but the regent remitted the fine, lest, as he said, Soissons should be made a cardinal also.

The court of Rome broke out into loud reproaches; much time was spent in negotiations, in appealing and re-appealing, and all this about a few passages, now forgotten, of a book written by an old priest of fourscore, who lived on charity at Amsterdam.

The extravagant project of the funds contributed more than one would imagine to restore peace to the church. The madness of the nation for stock-jobbing, and the greediness of
every

every one to snap at the bait hung out for their avarice, was so great, that those who talked about Jansenism or the bull could find no one to listen to them. The people of Paris paid as little regard to these matters as to the war that was carrying on upon the frontiers of Spain. The sudden and immense fortunes made at that time ; the excess to which luxury and voluptuousness of every kind was carried, put a stop to all ecclesiastical disputes. Thus pleasure and dissipation brought about that which all the power and politics of Lewis XIV. could not effect.

The duke of Orleans laid hold of this occasion to unite the church of France. In this his policy was interested ; for he dreaded to see the time when Rome, Spain, and an hundred bishops, should be all united against him.

And here he had to prevail on cardinal Noailles, not only to receive the Constitution, which that prelate looked upon as scandalous, but also to withdraw his appeal, which he considered as lawful. He was to obtain more of him than his benefactor Lewis XIV. had in vain demanded. The duke of Orleans, with reason, expected great opposition from the parliament, whom he had banished to Pontoise. Nevertheless he gained all his points. A body of doctrine was composed, which partly satisfied both parties ; and the cardinal was prevailed upon to give his promise, that he would at last accept it. The regent went himself to the grand council, with the princes of the blood and the peers, to get an edict registered, enjoining the acceptance of the bull, the suppression of all appeals, and the restoration of peace
and

and unanimity. The parliament, which had been mortified by seeing edicts carried to the grand council, which it was their right to receive, and being likewise threatened to be removed from Pontoise to Blois, registered what had been entered by the council: but always with the customary reservations, *viz.* the preservation of the rights and liberties of the Gallican church, and the lords of the realm.

The cardinal-archbishop, who had given his word to withdraw his appeal whenever the parliament should obey, now saw himself necessitated to keep his promise; and the instrument of his recantation was published the 20th of August 1720.

Du Bois, the new archbishop of Cambray, son to an apothecary of Brive la Gaillarde, afterwards cardinal and prime minister, was the person who had the greatest share in bringing about this business, in which the power of Lewis XIV. had failed. No one is a stranger to the conduct, sentiments, and morals, of this minister. The licentious du Bois got the better of the pious Noailles. It is still remembered with what contempt the duke of Orleans and his minister spoke of the disputes which they opposed, and what ridicule they threw upon the controversial war. This contempt and ridicule contributed not a little to bring about a peace. People grew at length weary of such contests as afforded a subject of laughter to the rest of the world.

From this time all that was known in France by the name of Jansenism, Quietism, bulls, and theological disputes, sensibly declined; but some
bishops

bishops who had appealed, still continued obstinately attached to their opinions.

Under the administration of cardinal de Fleury, an attempt was made to extirpate the remains of the party, by deposing one of the most stubborn prelates. To this end, old Soanin, bishop of the little town of Serés, was fixed on for an example; a man equally pious and inflexible, but of no family nor influence.

He was condemned by the provincial synod of Ambrun, in 1728, suspended from his episcopal and clerical functions, and banished by the court to Auvergne, when above eighty years old. This treatment occasioned a few murmurings, which proved of no consequence. There is not at present any nation which murmurs more, obeys better, and forgets sooner, than the French.

Some remains of fanaticism still continued among a small number of the people of Paris. Certain enthusiasts imagined, that a deacon named Paris, brother to a counsellor of parliament, one who had appealed and re-appealed, who lay buried in the church-yard of St. Medard, was to perform miracles; some of the party, who went to pray at his tomb, had their imaginations so heated, that their disordered organs produced slight convulsions. Upon this the tomb was surrounded by swarms of people, who continued to flock thither both day and night: some got upon the tomb, and took the motion they gave their bodies in mounting for miraculous convulsions. The secret abettors of the party encouraged this phrenzy. They prayed at the tomb in the vulgar language; nothing

nothing was now talked of but the deaf hearing certain words, the blind partly restored to sight, and the lame walking upright for some moments; these pretended miracles were even attested upon oath by a crowd of witnesses, who thought they had beheld them, because they came thither fully prepossessed that they should behold them.

The government left this epidemical madness to itself for a month; but the concourse of people became so great, and the miracles so frequent, that they were at last obliged to shut up the church-yard, and place a guard round it; these enthusiasts then went to work their miracles in houses. This tomb of Deacon Paris proved in effect the grave of Jansenism, in the opinion of all sensible people. Such farces might have had serious consequences in more ignorant times; but those who encouraged them seemed to have mistaken the age they lived in.

The superstition, however, was carried so far, that a counsellor of parliament had the madness to present the king, in 1736, with a collection of these miracles, supported by a considerable number of attestations. This madman, the instrument and victim of others as mad as himself, says in the memorial presented to the king, "That credit ought to be given to witnesses who suffered death in support of their evidence." If all other books were to be lost, and this only was to remain, posterity would imagine our age to be the æra of ignorance and barbarism.

These extravagancies were in France the expiring sighs of a sect, which, being no longer supported by an Arnauld, a Pascal, nor a Nicole, and confined only to a few convulsionaries,

aries, is fallen into utter contempt; and we should hear no more mention of those disputes which disgrace reason, and do injury to religion, were it not for some busy minds, who are continually raking in these extinguished ashes, for a remaining spark of fire, which they endeavour to blow up into a new flame; but even should they succeed, the dispute concerning Molinism and Jansenism, will never again be the object of dissention. What has once become ridiculous, can never more be dangerous. The dispute will change its nature; for mankind never want a pretext to injure each other, tho' they may be without a cause.

The Jesuits seemed involved in the fall of Jansenism; their arms remained useless for want of adversaries to employ them on; they lost that credit at court which le Tellier had so grossly abused; their Journal of Trevoux gained them neither the esteem nor friendship of the learned world. The bishops, over whom they had formerly domineered, confounded them with the other religious orders; and these, who had been kept under by them, now humbled them in their turn. The parliament made them sensible, more than once, of the opinion they entertained of them, by condemning some of their books, which would otherwise have been forgotten. The university, which now began to make a shining figure in literature, and had an excellent method of educating youth, robbed them of most of their pupils; and they were obliged to wait with patience till time should furnish them with men of genius, and a favourable opportunity to regain their former ascendancy.

It

It would be very useful for those who are infatuated with these kinds of disputes, to look into the general history of the world; for in observing the multitude of different nations, manners, and religions, they will see how very insignificant a figure a Molinist and a Jansenist makes on the theatre of the world. They will then blush at their mad fondness for a party which is lost in the common crowd, and swallowed up in the immensity of things.



C H A P. CCIX.

Of QUIETISM.

AMIDST the factions of Calvinism and the disputes of Jansenism, there happened yet another division in France about Quietism. It was an unhappy consequence of the progress of human understanding in the age of Lewis XIV. that it excited efforts to go beyond the limits prescribed to our knowledge; or rather, it was a proof that this progress might be still further extended.

The controversy about Quietism is one of those extravagant fallies of the imagination and theological subtleties, which would never have left any impression on the memory of mankind, had it not been for the names of two illustrious rivals in dispute. A woman without any credit, or even real understanding, who had only an overheated imagination, set at variance two of the greatest men in the church. Her name was
Bou-

Bouvieres de la Motte. Her family was originally of Montargis. She had been married to the son of Guion, the contractor for the canal of Briarie: being left a widow when very young, with a considerable fortune, a tolerable share of beauty, and a disposition formed for distinguishing herself in public, she became possessed with what is called Spirituality. She had for her confessor a Barnabite monk, of the country of Geneva, named La Combe. This man, noted for what is common enough, a medley of passions and religion, and who died mad, plunged the mind of his penitent in mystical contemplations, to which she was already but too much inclined. The desire of being a sister Theresa, in France, prevented her from discerning the great difference between the genius of the French and Spaniards, and carried her even to greater lengths than sister Theresa. The ambition of having disciples, the strongest perhaps of every other species of ambition, took entire possession of her heart.

She and her confessor went into that small territory where the titular bishop of Geneva holds his residence. There she acquired great authority by her extensive charities, and held several conferences. She preached up an entire self-renunciation, the tranquil state of the soul, and the annihilation of all its faculties, inward worship, and pure and disinterested love, such as is neither debased by fear, nor exalted by the hope of reward.

Tender and flexible imaginations, especially those of women, and some young ecclesiastics who loved the word of God, as proceeding from the mouth of a fine woman, rather more than they

they believed it, were easily led away with an eloquence of delivery, the only thing calculated to persuade minds already favourably disposed. She made profelytes; but was soon driven away from thence by the bishop, with her confessor. They went next to Grenoble; there she published a little piece intituled, *Le moyen court*, The Short Way, and another called *les Torrents*, the Torrents, both written in the same style she preached; but, in a short time, she was likewise obliged to leave Grenoble.

Full already of the pleasing thoughts of being ranked among the number of confessors, she had a vision, and prophesied. This prophecy she sent to father La Combe: "All hell, said she, shall rise up to stop the progress of the inward spirit, and the formation of Christ Jesus in souls. And so great shall be the storm, that not one stone shall remain upon another; and I foresee that throughout the whole earth, there shall be troubles, wars, and great overthrows. The woman shall be pregnant with the inward spirit, and the dragon shall stand up before her."

The prediction was in part verified: hell indeed did not rise up against her; but on her return to Paris with her confessor, where both endeavoured to spread their doctrine in 1687, the archbishop Harlai de Chanvallon, obtained an order from the king to confine La Combe as a seducer, and to shut in a convent madame Guion, as a person disordered in her senses, and who stood in need of a cure. But before this blow, madame Guion had gained such a protection as now proved of service to her. In the palace of St. Cyr, then only in its infancy, she

had a cousin named madame de la Maison-Forte, a favourite with madame de Maintenon. She had likewise insinuated herself into the good graces of the dutchesses of Chevreuse and Beauvilliers. These, her good friends, exclaimed one and all loudly against archbishop Harlai, that he who was so well known to have a fondness for the fair sex, should persecute a woman only for discoursing on the love of God.

Madame de Maintenon, by her powerful influence, procured Guion her liberty, and got the archbishop of Paris silenced. After she was released she went to Versailles, and introduced herself into the palace of St. Cyr, where, after having dined with madame de Maintenon and another person, she assisted at the devout conferences held by the abbé de Fenelon. The princess of Harcourt, and the dutchesses of Chevreuse, Beauvilliers, and Charôt, were of this mystical society.

The abbé Fenelon, then preceptor to the children of France, was the most engaging man about the court. He had naturally a tender heart, and a mild and lively imagination. He had embellished his mind with all that was most excellent in the Belles Lettres. He possessed a fine taste, with many other amiable qualifications, and preferred the affecting and sublime in divinity, to the gloomy and abstruse. With all these endowments, he had a certain romantic turn, which inspired him, not with the reveries of madame Guion, but with a taste for the doctrine of Spirituality, which was not very unlike the notions of that lady.

His imagination was heated with candour and virtue, as others are inflamed by their passions.

sions. His passion was to love God purely for himself. He saw in madame Guion a spotless soul, fraught with the same inclinations as his own, and therefore made no difficulty to associate with her.

It was strange that such a man should be led away by a weak woman, who pretended to revelations, to prophecies, and such idle stuff; who was ready to be choaked with inward grace, and made her attendants unlace her that she might empty herself (according to her own expression) of a superabundance of grace, in order to communicate it to the body of the chosen person who sat next her. But Fenelon, in his friendship and mystical notions, was a person in love: he excused the errors, and attached himself only to that conformity of opinion with which he had been first taken.

Madame Guion, elevated and emboldened by the acquisition of such a disciple, who she called her son, and depending on madame de Maintenon's favour, propagated her notions in St. Cyr. Godet, bishop of Chartres, in whose diocese St. Cyr is, was alarmed, and made complaints. The archbishop of Paris likewise threatened to renew his former prosecution.

Madame de Maintenon, who intended St. Cyr wholly for a peaceable retreat; who knew how much the king was an enemy to all novelty, and who had no occasion to put herself at the head of a sect to acquire influence, and had besides her own credit and repose only in view, broke off all correspondence with madame Guion, and forbade her to appear again at St. Cyr.

The abbé de Fenelon saw the storm gathering, and was apprehensive of being disappointed of the great employments to which he aspired. He therefore advised his female friend to put herself in the hands of the famous Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, who was regarded as a father of the church. She accordingly submitted herself to the decisions of this prelate, received the sacrament from him, and delivered up all her writings to his examination.

The bishop of Meaux, with the king's permission, chose for his assistants in this affair, the bishop of Chalons, afterwards cardinal de Noailles, and the abbé Tronson superior of St. Sulpicius. They had a private meeting at the village of Iffi, near Paris. Chanvallon, archbishop of Paris, jealous that any other persons should set themselves up as judges in his diocese, immediately fixed up a public censure on the books they had under their examination. Madame Guion retired to the city of Meaux, subscribed to all that bishop Bossuet required of her, and promised to dogmatise no more for the future.

In the mean time Fenelon was promoted to the archbishopric of Cambray in 1695, and consecrated by the bishop of Meaux. It might have been presumed, that an affair now dormant, and that had been from the beginning only a subject of ridicule, would never have been recalled. But madame Guion, being accused of

being about to preach her doctrines after she had

been prohibited from doing so, was seized by order of the

king in the year 1695, and confined pri-

soner at Vincennes, as if she had been a per-

son dangerous to the state. She could not

possible

possibly be so; and her pious follies did not merit the attention of the sovereign. During her confinement at Vincennes she composed a large volume of mystic poetry, more wretched even than her prose. She wrote parodies upon verses of operas, and would often sing the following lines:

*L'amour pur et parfait va plus loin qu'on ne pense :
On ne fait pas, lorsqu'il commence,
Tout ce qu'il doit coûter un jour.
Mon cœur n'auroit connu Vincennes ni souffrance,
S'il n'eût connu le pur amour.*

Pure, perfect love surmounts yon starry skies !
We little know when first it takes its rise,
What pangs the subject heart will prove ;
Vincennes had ne'er shock'd, nor tears bedimm'd
these eyes,
Had I ne'er felt this pure and perfect love.

The opinions of mankind are frequently influenced by time, place, and circumstances. While madam Guion was confined in prison, who in one of her phrenzies had imagined herself married to Jesus Christ, and from that time would never invoke the saints, saying, that it was not for the mistress of the family to address herself to her servants; at this very time, I say, there was application made to Rome for the canonization of Mary d'Agreda *, who had

* This enthusiast, who was abbess of a convent at Agreda, pretended to have received divine orders to write the life of the Virgin Mary, which was accordingly published, under the title of the Mystic City of God, and appears to be a strange medley of madness and fanaticism.

pretended to more visions and revelations than all the rest of the mystical tribe put together; and as an unanswerable instance of those contradictions with which the world abounds, at the Sorbonne they prosecuted as an heretic this very d'Agreda, whom they wanted to make a saint in Spain. The university of Salamanca condemned the Sorbonne, and was in return condemned by it.

Bossuet, who had long looked upon himself as the father and master of Fenelon, beheld with jealous eyes the rising reputation and credit of his disciple; and desirous of preserving that ascendant which he had over all the rest of his brethren, he required the new archbishop to join with him in the condemnation of madame Guion, and to subscribe to his pastoral instructions. Fenelon refused to sacrifice to him either his sentiments or his friend. A medium was proposed, and mutual promises made. The one accused the other of a breach of faith. The archbishop of Cambray, when he departed for his diocese, caused his book, entitled, "The Maxims of the Saints," to be printed at Paris; a work in which he endeavoured to palliate the charge brought against his friend, and to reveal the orthodox notions of devout contemplatifs, who raise themselves above the senses, and aim at a state of perfection to which ordinary souls seldom aspire. The bishop of Meaux and his adherents vehemently opposed this book. They complained of it to the king, as if it had been as dangerous as it was unintelligible. His majesty spoke of it to Bossuet, of whose reputation and understanding he had a great opinion.

opinion. This prelate, throwing himself on his knees before his prince, implored his pardon for not having before informed him of the fatal heresy of the archbishop of Cambray. The king and madame de Maintenon immediately consulted father de la Chaise upon the affair, who made answer, that the archbishop's book was an excellent piece; that it had greatly edified all the Jesuits; and that the Jansenists only disapproved of it. The bishop of Meaux was not a Jansenist, but he had studied some of their best writings. He did not like the Jesuits, nor they him.

The court and the city were divided; and the attention of every one being engrossed by the affair, the Jansenists had a little respite.

Bossuet wrote against Fenelon; and both sent their works to pope Innocent XII. submitting themselves to his decision. Circumstances were rather against Fenelon; for not long before, the court of Rome had strongly condemned, in the person of Molinos the Spaniard*, the Quietism of

* Michael Molinos, a Spanish priest, and founder of the sect of Quietism. He published his book on spiritual conduct at Rome, and was much followed for a series of years; but his reputation having at length awakened the jealousy of the Jesuits, they employed all their art and influence for his destruction. A process was instituted against him in the general congregation of the inquisition of Rome, held in the presence of the pope and the cardinal inquisitors. Sixty-eight of the propositions were condemned as false and pernicious, scandalous, blasphemous, and heretical. He was compelled to abjure them publicly in the habit of a penitent, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died. His real character was that of an inoffensive enthusiast, who aspired at a sublime communication with God, by means of abstracted contemplation.

which the archbishop of Cambray was now accused. Cardinal d'Etrees, the French ambassador at Rome, was the person who had prosecuted Molinos. This cardinal, whom we have seen in his old age more engaged in the pleasures of society than in theology, had proceeded against Molinos merely to please the enemies of that unfortunate priest, and had even prevailed upon the king to solicit his condemnation at Rome, which he obtained but too easily: so that Lewis XIV. proved, unknown to himself, the most formidable enemy of the pure love of the mystics.

In matters of this delicate nature, nothing is more easy than to discover passages in a book under consideration, resembling those in one already condemned. The archbishop of Cambray had on his side the Jesuits, and cardinal de Bouillon, lately ambassador from France to Rome. The bishop of Meaux had its own great name and the principal prelates of France for his adherents. He presented to the king the subscribed declarations of many of the bishops, and a great number of doctors, who all condemned the Maxims of the Saints.

So great was the authority of the bishop of Meaux, that father de la Chaise durst not vindicate the archbishop of Cambray to his royal penitent, and madame Maintenon entirely abandoned her friend. The king wrote to pope Innocent XII. that having had the archbishop's book laid before him as a dangerous work, he had put it into the hands of the nuncio, and earnestly requested his holiness to give judgment upon it.

It

It was insinuated, and even publicly affirmed at Rome, nor are there wanting those who still believe the report, that the archbishop of Cambray was thus persecuted for no other reason but his having opposed the private marriage of the king with madame Maintenon. The anecdote-makers pretend that this lady had engaged father de la Chaise to press the king to acknowledge her for queen ; that the Jesuit had artfully thrown this dangerous commission upon the abbé Fenelon ; but that this preceptor of the children of the blood preferred the honour of his country and that of his royal pupils to his own interest, and had thrown himself at the feet of Lewis XIV. to prevent a marriage, which, from its unaccountable strangeness, would have injured that monarch more with posterity than all the transitory gratifications of his life could have recompensed.

This tale is still to be found in the history of Lewis XIV. printed at Avignon. Those who have had access to the monarch, and to madame Maintenon, know how far this is from the truth. But it is true that Fenelon, having continued his education of the duke of Burgundy after his promotion to the archbishopric of Cambray, and the king during this interval having heard some confused talk about Fenelon's connection with madame Guion, and madame de la Maison-Fort, was apprehensive that Fenelon might inspire his pupil with maxims too rigid, and such principles of government and morality, as would perhaps one day become an indirect censure upon that air of greatness, that thirst for glory, those wars undertaken on the

most frivolous occasion, and that taste for luxury and pleasures, which had characterised his reign.

The king was desirous of having some conversation with the new archbishop on his political principles. Fenelon, full of his ideas, discovered to the king some part of the principles which he afterwards unfolded in those passages of his *Telemachus* where he treats of government; principles which better suit with Plato's ideal republic, than the true manner in which mankind are to be governed. The king, after this conversation, said, that he had been discoursing with the finest and most chimerical genius in his kingdom. The duke of Burgundy was made acquainted with what his majesty had said, and repeated it afterwards to Mr. de Malezieux, his master for geometry. I had this from Mr. de Malezieux himself, and it was afterwards confirmed to me by cardinal Fleury.

It is certain that from this conversation the king readily believed Fenelon to be as romantic in his religion as in his political notions.

The congregation of the Holy Office named a Dominican, a Jesuit, a Benedictin, two Cordeliers, a Feuillant,* and an Augustin, to take cognizance of the affair. These are what they call at Rome the consultors. The cardinals and prelates generally leave to these monks the study of theology, to be more at leisure to follow politics, intrigues, or the pleasures of an indolent life.

* A set of begging friars of the order of St. Bernard.

The consultors, in thirty-seven sittings, examined as many propositions, and declared them erroneous by a majority of voices; and the pope, at the head of a congregation of cardinals, condemned them by a brief published and fixed up at Rome the thirteenth day of March 1699.

The bishop of Meaux triumphed; but the archbishop of Cambray gained a more glorious victory in his defeat. He submitted without restriction or reserve. He even mounted the pulpit himself at Cambray, to condemn his own book, and forbade his friends to defend it. This singular instance of condescension in a man of his learning, who might have raised a considerable party to himself, even from his persecution, added to his known candour and ingenuity, gained him the good will of every one, and made his antagonist almost hated for his victory. He ever afterwards continued to reside in his diocese, like the good archbishop and the man of letters. That sweetness of manners which shewed itself in his conversation as well as in his writings, made all who had the happiness of being acquainted with him, his affectionate friends. The persecution he underwent, and his *Telemachus*, gained him the veneration of all Europe. The English in particular, though they carried the war into his diocese, were the most eager to shew him respect. The duke of Marlborough took particular care that his lands should be spared. He was always held dear by the duke of Burgundy, who was his pupil; and had that prince lived, he would have had a share in the administration.

In his philosophical and honourable retreat, we may see with what difficulty a man can dis-

engage himself from court. He always spoke on this head in such a feeling manner as broke through all his appearance of resignation. Several pieces upon philosophy, divinity, and polite literature, were the fruits of the leisure hours of his retirement. The duke of Orleans, afterwards regent of the kingdom, consulted him on certain difficult points which concern all mankind, and yet are seldom thought of by them. He asked him whether the existence of a Deity could be demonstrated? whether this Deity required worship of us? what worship he most approved? and whether a mistaken choice was offensive to him? He started many questions of a like nature, as a philosopher who sought instruction; and the archbishop answered him like an able philosopher and divine.

After having been worsted in scholastic disputes, it would have been more agreeable to his character, had he not intermeddled in the controversy of Jansenism; nevertheless, he engaged in it. Cardinal Noailles had formerly joined with the strongest side against him. The archbishop of Cambray did the same in his turn. He was in hopes of being recalled to court and consulted; so hard is it for the mind of man to disengage itself from public affairs, after having been once embarked in them. His desires nevertheless were as moderate as his writings; and even towards the latter part of his life, he at last despised all disputation, resembling, in this one particular, Huet bishop of Avranches, one of the most learned men in Europe, who in his latter days acknowledged the vanity of almost all sciences, and of the human understanding itself.

The archbishop of Cambray, (who would believe it !) thus turned an air of Lulli :

*Jeune, j'étois trop sage,
Et voulois trop savoir ;
Je ne veux en partage
Que badinage,
Et touche au dernier âge,
Sans rien prévoir.*

When young, I was exceeding wise,
And pil'd up knowledge in a heap :
Now nothing I prize,
But trifles and toys,
And creep to the grave without noise ;
Nor wish to look before I leap.

He composed these verses in presence of his nephew the marquis of Fenelon, afterwards ambassador at the Hague, from whom I had them, and can warrant the truth of this fact. It is a circumstance of very little importance in itself, only as it is a proof that in the grave tranquillity of old age, we often view in a different light what appeared so great and interesting to us at a time of life, when the active mind is the sport of its own desires and delusions *.

* The above verses are to be met with in the poetical works of madame Guion : but the archbishop's nephew having assured me more than once that they were his uncle's, and that he heard him repeat them the very day he made them, I thought I was in justice bound to restore them to their real author.

C H A P. CCX.

DISPUTES upon the CEREMONIES of
the CHINESE.

IT was not sufficient for the disquiet of our minds, that we disputed at the end of seventeen hundred years upon the articles of our own religion, but we must likewise introduce into our quarrels those of the Chinese. This dispute, however, was not productive of any great disturbances; but it served more than any other to characterise that busy, contentious, and jarring spirit, which prevails in our climates.

Matthew Ricci the Jesuit had been one of the first missionaries to China at the end of the seventeenth century. The Chinese were then, and still are almost the same in philosophy and literature, that we were two hundred years ago. The veneration they have for their ancient masters makes them afraid of passing certain bounds. A progress in the sciences is the work of time and a daring genius: but morality and policy being more easy to comprehend than the sciences, and these being brought to perfection amongst them before the other arts, it has happened that the Chinese, who have continued above two thousand years within the same limits they had at first attained, have continued but middling proficients in the sciences; and are the first people in the world in morals and policy, as well as the most ancient.

After

After Ricci, many other Jesuits found the way into this vast empire; and by the help of the European sciences, they secretly scattered some seeds of Christianity amongst the children of that people, whom they took care to instruct whenever they had an opportunity. Some Dominicans, who were joined in this mission accused the Jesuits of permitting idolatry, whilst they preached up Christianity. This was a delicate point, as well as the conduct to be observed in China.

The laws and tranquillity of this great empire are founded on the most natural, and, at the same time, the most sacred of all rights, the respect of children to their parents. To this respect they join that which they owe to their first masters in morality, and especially to Con-fut-zee, or Confucius, as we call him, an ancient philosopher, who had taught them the principles of virtue five hundred years before the founding of Christianity.

Every family assembles on a particular day to do honour to their ancestors; and the learned meet publicly to honour Con-fut-zee. They prostrate themselves according to their manner of saluting their superiors, which was formerly called adoration throughout all Asia. They burn wax tapers and perfumes. The colaos, to whom the Spaniards have given the name of mandarins, twice a year kill several animals, near the hall where Con-fut-zee is honoured, and afterwards feast upon them. Are these ceremonies idolatrous, or are they merely civil institutions? Do they hereby acknowledge their parents and Con-fut-zee for deities? or are they
even

even invoked as our saints? Is this in short a political custom, which some of the most superstitious Chinese abuse? These were questions that could not easily be cleared up in China by strangers, and which we were unable to decide in Europe.

The Dominicans laid an account of the customs of the Chinese before the inquisition of Rome in 1645. The holy office, from their representation, forbade the use of these ceremonies till the pope should give his decision.

The Jesuits defended the cause of the Chinese and their ceremonies, which, in their opinion, could not be forbidden, without for ever barring the entrance against Christianity in an empire so jealous of its customs. They presented their reasons on this head. The inquisition in 1656 permitted that the literati should continue to revere Con-fut-zee, and the Chinese children to honour their ancestors: but protested at the same time against all superstition, if there was any.

While the affair remained thus undecided, the missionaries always divided, and the cause soliciting at Rome from time to time, the Jesuits at Pekin insinuated themselves so far into the esteem of the emperor Camhi, by their mathematical knowledge, that this prince, renowned for his virtue and goodness, permitted them at length to exercise their office of missionaries, and teach Christianity publicly. But here it may be necessary to observe, that this despotic monarch, grandson to the conqueror of China, was nevertheless subject by custom to the laws of the empire; that he could not by his own authority alone permit the exercise of Christianity,

anity, and was obliged to solicit one of the tribunals upon that head; and that he himself drew up two petitions in the name of the Jesuits. At last, in 1672, Christianity was permitted in China, through the indefatigable pains and address of the Jesuits alone.

There is at Paris a house established for foreign missionaries. Some priests educated here were then in China. The pope, who sends apostolic vicars into all the countries, which they call the regions of infidelity, made choice of a priest named Maigrot, one of this house, to go to preside as vicar in the Chinese mission, and gave him the bishopric of Conon, a little Chinese province in Fo-kien. This Frenchman, thus become a bishop in China, began with not only declaring the rites performed for the dead superstitious and idolatrous, but also pronounced the learned men of that nation atheists: so that the Jesuits had now more to do to struggle against their brother missionaries, than against the mandarins and the people. They represented to the court of Rome, that it was not consistent that the Chinese should be at once atheists and idolators. It was urged against these learned men, that they admitted only matter; but then the difficulty was to account for their invoking the souls of their deceased ancestors, and that of Con-fut-zee. One of those charges evidently destroyed the other, unless it was pretended that they admitted contradictions in China, as is so frequently done with us. But it was necessary to be well acquainted with their language and manners to reconcile this seeming contradiction. The affair remained a long time before the court of Rome;

Rome ; and in the mean time while the Jesuits were attacked on all sides.

Father le Comte, one of their most learned missionaries, had expressed himself thus in his memoirs of China: "This people have had amongst them, for two thousand years, a knowledge of the true God: and sacrificed to the Creator of the universe in the most ancient temple of the world ; China practised the purest lessons of morality, when Europe was in darkness and corruption."

We have already seen that this nation goes up, by an authentic history, and by a succession of thirty-six calculated eclipses, even beyond the æra in which we place the deluge. The learned men of that nation have never had any other religion than that which consists in the adoration of a supreme being. Their worship was justice. They could not be acquainted with the laws of Moses ; nor the more perfect law of the Messiah, which remained so long unknown to the nations of the West and North. It is certain that Gaul, Germany, England, and all the North, was plunged in the most barbarous idolatry, when the tribunals of the vast empire of China cultivated morality and the observance of laws, at the same time acknowledging one sole God, whom they always worshipped in the same simple manner, without the least variation. These evident truths were more than sufficient to justify the expressions made use of by father le Comte ; but as there was somewhat in these assertions which seemed to strike against the received notions, they were attacked in the Sorbonne.

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The abbé Boileau, brother to Despréaux, as great a critic as his brother, and a greater enemy to the Jesuits, declared (in 1700) this encomium on the Chinese a direct blasphemy. This abbé was a man of a lively and peculiar genius, who wrote the most serious and bold things in a humorous stile. He was author of a book entitled *Flagellantes*, and some other pieces of the like kind. He said he wrote them in Latin, for fear of being censured by the bishops. His brother said of him, "That if he had not been a doctor of the Sorbonne, he would have been a doctor of the Italian comedy." He declaimed violently against the Jesuits and the Chinese, and began by saying, "That the encomiums on that people had shook his Christian brain." The brains of the rest of that assembly seemed to be not much less disordered. There were some debates on the subject. A reverend doctor, named Le Sage, was of opinion that twelve of their brethren, of the most robust constitution, should be sent upon the spot to instruct themselves in every particular. The debate grew warm; but at length the Sorbonne declared the encomiums given to the Chinese false, scandalous, rash, impious, and heretical.

This dispute, which was carried on with great warmth, inflamed that about the ceremonies; and at length pope Clement XI. the year after sent a legate to China. The person he made choice of on the occasion was Thomas Maillard de Tournon, titular patriarch of Antioch, who did not arrive in China till 1705. The court of Pekin were till that time wholly ignorant that they had been under trial at Rome and Paris. The emperor Camhi at
first

first received the patriarch de Tournon with great civility. But how great was his surprize when he understood by the legate's interpreters, that the Christians who preached their religion in his empire, did not agree amongst themselves, and that this legate came to decide a dispute of which the court of Pekin had never till then heard the least mention. The legate gave his majesty to understand, that all the missionaries, except the Jesuits, condemned the ancient customs of his empire, and even suspected his Chinese majesty, and all the learned men of his kingdom, to be atheists, who admitted only of a material heaven. He added, that he had in his dominions the learned bishop of Conon, who would explain these matters more fully, if his majesty would condescend to give him an hearing. The monarch found his surprize encrease, when he was informed that he had bishops in his empire; and the reader will be not less so, when he finds this prince carried his indulgence so far as to permit the bishop of Conon to come to him to talk against his religion, the customs of his country, and even against himself. The bishop of Conon was admitted to an audience. He was very little acquainted with the Chinese language. The emperor began by asking him the meaning of four characters which were drawn in gold above his throne. Maigrot could read only two; but he maintained that the words *King-tien*, which the emperor had written in his pocket book, did not signify *adore the Lord of Heaven*. The emperor had the patience to explain to him, that it was the precise meaning of these words, and even condescended to enter into a long argument,

ment, in which he vindicated the honours paid to the dead. The bishop however remained inflexible; and it may well be believed that the Jesuits had more interest at court than him. The emperor, who by the laws of the country, might have put him to death, contented himself with only banishing him; and passed an ordinance, that all the Europeans willing to remain in his empire should, for the future, be obliged to take his letters of protection, and undergo an examination.

As for de Tournon, the legate, he had orders to quit the capital. As soon as he got to Nankin he published a mandate, entirely condemning all the Chinese rites, in regard to the dead, and forbidding the using that expression which the emperor used to signify *the God of heaven*.

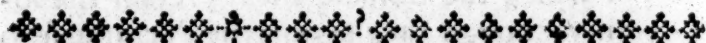
The legate upon this was banished to Macao, of which the Chinese always retain the sovereignty, though they permit the Portuguese to have a governor there. Whilst he was in his confinement here, the pope sent him a hat; but this only served to make him die a cardinal, for he ended his days there in 1710. The enemies of the Jesuits laid his death to their charge. It was sufficient if they imputed his banishment to them.

These divisions among strangers who came into the empire, on pretence of instructing it, greatly discredited the religion they preached. It suffered still more when the court, who began to study the Europeans more nearly than heretofore, discovered, that not only the missionaries were thus divided, but that likewise among the traders who came from Canton,
there

there were several sects, sworn enemies to each other.

The emperor Camhi did not cool towards the Jesuits, but greatly towards Christianity. His successor drove out all the missionaries, and proscribed the Christian religion. This was partly the effect of those disputes, and that insolence with which strangers had pretended to know better than the emperor and his magistrates, in what sense the Chinese honoured their ancestors.

These disputes, so long the object of attention at Paris, as well as many others, arising from a mixture of idleness and restlessness, are now utterly forgotten; people are surprised that they ever produced such animosities; and the spirit of philosophy, which daily gains ground, bids fair to secure the public tranquillity.



C H A P. CCXI.

A RECAPITULATION of the whole of the FOREGOING HISTORY, with the POINT of LIGHT in which it ought to be considered.

I HAVE now gone thro' the immense scene of revolutions, that the world has experienced since the time of Charlemagne: and to what have they all tended? to desolation, and the loss of millions of lives! Every great event has been a capital misfortune. History has kept no account of times of peace and tranquillity; it relates only ravages and disasters.

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We have beheld our Europe overspread with barbarians after the fall of the Roman empire; and these barbarians, when become Christians, continually at war with the Mahometans, or else destroying each other.

We have seen Italy desolated by perpetual wars between city and city: the Guelphs and Gibellines mutually destroying each other; whole ages of conspiracies, and successive irruptions of distant nations, who have passed the Alps, and driven each other from their settlements by turns, till at length, in all this beautiful and extensive country, there remained only two states of any consideration governed by their own natives, *viz.* Venice and Rome. The others, namely Naples, Sicily, Milan, Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, are under the dominion of foreigners.

The other great states of Christendom have all of them suffered equally by wars, and intestine commotions; but none of them have been brought under subjection thereby to a neighbouring power. The result of these endless disturbances and perpetual jars has been only the separating of some small provinces from one state to be transferred to another. Flanders, for example, which was the ancient peerdom of France, passed to the house of Burgundy from foreign hands, and from this house to that of Austria; and a small part of this Flanders came again into the hands of the French in the reign of Lewis XIV. Several provinces of Ancient Gaul were in former times dismembered. Alsace, which was a part of Ancient Gaul, came afterwards to belong to Germany, and is at this day a province of France. Upper Navarre,
which

which should be a demesne of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, belongs to the younger ; and Roussillon, which was formerly the Spaniard's, now belongs to the crown of France.

During all these shocks, there have been formed since the time of Charlemagne only two absolutely independent republics, namely that of Switzerland and that of Holland.

No one great kingdom has been able to subdue another. France, notwithstanding the conquests of Edward III. and Henry V. notwithstanding the victories and efforts of Charles V. and Philip II. has still preserved its limits, and even extended them ; Spain, Germany, Great-Britain, Poland, and the northern states, are nearly the same as they were formerly.

What then have been the fruits of the blood of so many millions of men, spilt in battle, and the sacking of so many cities ? Nothing great or considerable. The Christian powers have lost a great deal to the Turks, within these five centuries, and have gained scarcely any thing from each other.

All history then, in short, is little else than a long succession of useless cruelties ; and if there happens any great revolution, it will bury the remembrance of all the past disputes, wars, and fraudulent treaties, which have produced so many transitory miseries.

In the number of these miseries we may with justice include the disturbances and civil wars on the score of religion. Of these Europe has experienced two kinds, and it is hard to say which of them has proved most fatal to her. The first, as we have already seen, was the

was the dispute of the popes with the emperors and kings: this began in the time of Lewis the Feeble, and was not entirely at an end, in Germany, till after the reign of Charles V. in England, till suppressed by the resolution of queen Elizabeth, and in France, till the submission of Henry IV. The other source of so much bloodshed, was the rage of dogmatizing. This has caused the subversion of more than one state, from the time of the massacre of the Albigenſes to the thirteenth century, and from the ſmall war of the Cevennois to the beginning of the eighteenth. The field and the ſcaffold ran with blood on account of theological arguments, ſometimes in one century, ſometimes in another, for almoſt five hundred years, without interruption; and the long continuance of this dreadful ſcourge was owing to this, that morality was always neglected, to indulge a ſpirit of dogmatizing.

It muſt therefore once again be acknowledged, that hiſtory in general is a collection of crimes, follies and miſfortunes, among which we have now and then met with a few virtues, and ſome happy times; as we ſometimes ſee a few ſcattered huts in a barren deſert.

In thoſe times of darkneſs and ignorance, which we diſtinguiſh by the name of the middle age, no one perhaps ever deſerved ſo well of mankind as pope Alexander VIII. It was he who aboliſhed vaffalage, in a council which he held in the twelfth century. It was this ſame pontiff who triumphed in Venice by his prudence over the brutal violence of the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, and who obliged Henry II. of England to aſk pardon of God and man

for the murder of Thomas Becket *. He restored the rights of the people, and chastised the wickedness of crowned heads. We have had occasion to remark, that, before this æra, all Europe, a very small number of cities excepted, was divided between two ranks of people; the lords, or owner of lands, either ecclesiastical or secular, and the villains, or slaves. The lawyers who assisted the knights, bailiffs, and stewards of fiefs, in giving their sentences, were in fact no other than bondmen, or villains, themselves. And, if mankind at length enjoy their rights, it is to pope Alexander VIII. they are chiefly indebted for this happy change. It is to him that so many cities owe their present splendour; nevertheless, we know that this liberty was not universally extended. It has never made its way into Poland; the husbandman there is still a slave, and confined to the glebe: it is the same in Bohemia, Suabia, and several other countries, of Germany; and even in France, in some of the provinces the most remote from the capital, we still see remains of this slavery. There are some chapters and monks, who claim a right to all the goods of the peasants.

In Asia, on the contrary, there are no slaves

* That is to say, he obliged a great prince to do shameful penance, for a murder in which he had no concern; and by what means did he manifest this power? by employing all the villainous arts of priestcraft, to alienate the affections of the people from their natural sovereign; by excommunications, interdictions, and absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance. As for Becket, whom Alexander allowed to be canonized, we hope there are not three Britons, now living, who do not detest his character as that of a pernicious fire-brand, whose pride, insolence, and fanaticism kept his sovereign and his country in continual disquiet.
but

but those which are purchased with money, or taken prisoners in battle. In the Christian states of Europe, they do not buy slaves, neither do they reduce their prisoners of war to a state of servitude. The Asiatics have only a domestic servitude; Christians only a civil one. The peasant in Poland is a bondman in the lands, but not in the house of his lord. We purchase household-slaves only from the negroes: we are severely reproached for this kind of traffic; but the people, who make a trade of selling their children, are certainly more blameable than those who purchase them, and this traffick is only a proof of our superiority.—He who voluntarily subjects himself to a master, is designed by nature for a slave*.

We have seen that, from time immemorial, they have tolerated all religions in Asia, much in the same manner as it is at present done in England, Holland, and Germany. We have observed, that this toleration was more general in Japan than in any other country whatever, till the fatal affair which rendered that government so inexorable.

We may have observed, in the course of so many revolutions, that several nations, almost entirely savage, have been formed both in Europe and Asia, in those very countries which were formerly the most civilized. Thus, some of the Islands of the Archipelago, which were once so flourishing, are now little better than Indian habitations in America. The country

* We apprehend that all the effects of all the people in France, or of any other arbitrary government, properly speaking, belong to the crown; inasmuch as the sovereign can seize them at his pleasure.

where formerly were the cities of Artaxates, Tigranocertes, and Colchos, are not now of half the value of some of our petty colonies. There are in some of the islands, forests, and mountains in the very heart of Europe, a set of people, who are in nothing superior to those of Canada, or the negroes of Africa. The Turks are more civilized, but we hardly know of one city built by them; they have suffered the most noble and beautiful monuments of antiquity to fall to decay, and reign only over a pile of ruins.

They have nothing in Asia that in the least resembles our European nobility; nor is there to be found throughout the whole East any one order of citizens, distinguished from the others by hereditary titles, or particular privileges and indulgencies, annexed solely to birth. The Tartars seem to be the only people who have some faint shadow of this institution, in the race of their Mirzas. We meet with nothing either in Turkey, Persia, the Indies, or China, that bears any similitude to that body of nobility which forms an essential part of every European monarchy. We must go as far as Malabar to meet with any likeness to this sort of constitution; and there again it is very different, and consists in a tribe wholly dedicated to bearing arms, and which never intermixes, by marriage or otherwise, with any of the other tribes or casts, and will not even condescend to hold any commerce with them.

The greatest difference between us and the Orientals, is in the manner of treating our women. No female ever reigned in the East, unless that princess of Mingrelia, whom Sir John Chardin tells us of in his voyages, and whom he
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accuses of robbing him. In France, tho' the women cannot wear the crown, they may be regents of the kingdom, and have a right to every other throne, but that of the empire and Poland.

Another difference in our manner of treating women, is the custom of placing about their persons men deprived of their virility, a custom which has always prevailed in Asia and Africa, and has at times been introduced into Europe by the Roman emperors. At present there is not throughout all Christendom two hundred eunuchs employed, either in our churches or theatres, whereas all the eastern seraglios swarm with them.

In short, we differ in every respect, in religion, policy, government, manners, food, cloathing, and even in our manners of writing, expressing, and thinking. That in which we the most resemble them is, that propensity to war, slaughter, and destruction, which has always depopulated the face of the earth. It must be owned, however, that this rage has taken much less possession of the minds of the people of India and China, than of ours. In particular, we have no instance of the Indians or Chinese having made war upon the inhabitants of the North. In this respect they are much better members of society than ourselves; but then, on the other hand, this very virtue, or rather meekness, of theirs, has been their ruin; for they have been all enslaved.

In the midst of the ravages and desolations which we have observed during the space of nine hundred years, we perceive a love for order which secretly animates human kind, and has prevented its total ruin. This is one of

the springs of nature which always recovers its tone ; it is this which has formed the code of all nations, and this inspires a veneration for the laws and the ministers of the laws at Tonquin, and in the island of Formosa, the same as at Rome. Children respect their parents in all countries, and in every country (let others say what they will) the son is his father's heir ; for, though in Turkey, the son of a Timariot does not inherit his father's dignity, nor, in India, the son of an Omra his lands ; the reason is, because neither the one nor the other belong to the father himself. A place for life is, in no country of the world, considered as an inheritance ; but, in Persia, in India, and throughout all Asia, every native, and even every stranger, of whatsoever religion, except in Japan, may purchase lands that are not part of the crown demesnes, and leave them to his family.

In our Europe, indeed, there are still some nations, where the law will not suffer a stranger to purchase a field or burying-place in their territories. The barbarous right of Aubaine, by which a stranger beholds his father's estate go to the king's treasury, still subsists in all the Christian states, unless where it is otherwise provided by private convention.

We likewise have a notion, that in the eastern countries the women are all slaves, because they are confined to the duties of domestic life. If they were really slaves, they must become beggars at the death of their husbands, which is not the case ; the law every where provides a stated portion for them, and this portion they obtain in case of a divorce. In every part of the world we find laws established for the support of families.

In

In all nations there is a proper curb to arbitrary power, either by law, custom, or manners. The Turkish sultan can neither touch the public treasure, break the Janissaries, nor interfere with the inside of the seraglios of any of his subjects. The emperor of China cannot publish a single edict, without the sanction of a tribunal. Every state is at times liable to violent oppressions; the grand vizirs and the Itimadoullets exercise rapine and murder, it is true, but they are no more authorised so to do by the laws, than the wild Arabs, or wandering Tartars, are to plunder the caravans.

Religion teaches the same principles of morality to all nations, without exception; the ceremonies of the Asiatics are ridiculous, their belief absurd, but their precepts are just; the dervise, the saquir, the bonze, and the talopin, are always crying out, "Be just and beneficent." The common people in China are accused of being great cheats in trade; they are, perhaps, encouraged to this vice, by knowing that they can purchase absolution for their crimes of their bonzes, for a trifling piece of money. The moral precepts taught them are good, the indulgence which is sold them is bad.

We are not to credit those travellers and missionaries, who have represented the eastern priests to us as persons who preach up iniquity; this is traducing human nature, it is not possible that there should ever exist a religious society, instituted for the encouragement or propagation of vice.

We should equally deceive ourselves, were we to believe that the Mahometan religion owes its establishment wholly to the sword.

The Mahometans have had their missionaries in the Indies, and at China ; and the sects of Omar and Ali dispute with each other for proselytes, even on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.

From all that we have observed in this sketch of universal history, it follows, that whatever concerns human nature, is the same from one end of the universe to the other, and that what is dependant upon custom differs, or, if there is any resemblance, it is the effect of chance. The dominion of custom is much more extensive than that of nature, and influences all manners and all usages. It diffuses variety over the face of the universe. Nature establishes unity, and every where settles a few invariable principles : the soil is still the same, but culture produce various fruits.

As nature has placed in the heart of man interest, pride, and all the passions, it is no wonder that, during a period of about six centuries, we meet with almost a continual succession of crimes and disasters. If we go back to earlier ages we shall find them no better. Custom has ordered it so, that evil has every where operated in a different manner.



C H A P. CCXII.

Of the POLITE ARTS, in EUROPE, at the
Time of LEWIS XIV.

I HAVE sufficiently hinted in the course of this history, that the public disasters it contains, and which succeed each other almost without intermission, are at length erased from
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the registers of time. The springs, and minuter circumstances of politics, sink into oblivion; whilst wise laws and institutions, the monuments produced by the arts and sciences, continue for ever.

Of the immense crowd of strangers that now travel to Rome, not as pilgrims, but as persons of taste, hardly one is at the pains to enquire any thing concerning Gregory VII. or Boniface VIII. they admire the beautiful churches built by a Bramantes and a Michael Angelo, the paintings of a Raphael, and the sculptures of a Bernini; if they have genius, they read the works of Ariosto and Tasso, and reverence the ashes of Galileo. In England the exploits of Cromwell are scarcely mentioned, and the disputes of the white and red roses are almost forgotten; but Newton is studied for whole years together: no one is surprised to see in his epitaph, "That he was the glory of mankind;" but it would be matter of great wonder in that country, to see the remains of any statesman honoured with such a title.

I should be glad, in this place, to do justice to all great men who, like him, were the ornaments of their country in the last century. I have called this the Age of Lewis XIV. not only because this monarch patronized the arts much more than all the other kings, his contemporaries, put together, but also, because he saw all the generations of the princes of Europe thrice renewed. I have fixed this epoch some years before the time of Lewis XIV. and have carried it down some years after his decease, as this was in fact the space of time in which the human mind made the greatest progress.

The English have made greater advances towards perfection, in almost every species of learning, from 1660 to the present time, than in all the preceding ages. I shall not here repeat what I have elsewhere said of Milton. It is true, he is accused by several critics of a whimsical extravagance in his descriptions, such as that of the fools paradise; the walls of alabaster with which the garden of Eden was surrounded; the devils, who transformed themselves from giants to pigmies, to take up less room in the council-chamber of hell, built all of pure gold: the firing of cannons in heaven; the hills that the combatants flung at each others heads: angels on horseback, and angels whose bodies, after being cut asunder, unite again. He is complained of for his prolixity and incessant repetitions. They say he neither equals Ovid nor Hesiod, in that long description of the formation of the earth, animals, and man. His dissertations on astronomy are censured, as being too dry and uninteresting; his invention thought rather extravagant than wonderful, and more disgusting than striking; for instance, the long causeway over chaos; sin and death enamoured of each other, and having children by their incestuous commerce; "Death, who lifts up his nose to snuff, through the immensity of chaos, the change which beset the earth, as a raven smells dead carcases." The same Death who smells out sin, who strikes with his petrifying club on the elements of Earth and Water, who, together with Heat and Humidity, becoming four valiant generals of an army, leading in battle-array the light-armed embryos of atoms. In short, writers have exhausted themselves in

criticisms on this celebrated work ; but there can be no end to the praises it merits. Milton will ever continue the boast and admiration of the English nation, will always be compared to Homer, whose faults are equally great, and always preferred to Dante, whose imagination is even more extravagant.

Among the great number of pleasing poets that adorn the reign of Charles II. such as Waller, the earls of Dorset and Roscommon, the duke of Buckingham, &c. the celebrated Dryden holds a distinguished place : he is equally famous in all the different species of poetry. His writings abound with a number of minute particulars, at once natural and lively, animated, bold, nervous, and pathetic : a merit in which he has been equalled by no other poet of his nation, nor exceeded by any one among the ancients. If Pope, who came after him, had not, in the latter part of his life, written his Essay on Man, he would have fallen far short of Dryden.

No nation has ever treated morality, in verse, with so much energy and depth, as the English. In this, I think, seems to lie the greatest merit of their poets.

There is another kind of varied literature, which requires a still more cultivated and universal genius ; this Addison possessed in an eminent degree. He has not only immortalized his name by his Cato, which is the only English tragedy written with elegance and well supported dignity, but his other writings, both moral and critical, breathe the very soul of good taste ; here sense is every where embellished with the flowers of imagination ; and his manner of writing may serve as a model to all nations.

There are several little pieces of Dean Swift, unmatched by any thing of the kind in antiquity. He is Rabelais improved.

The English are not acquainted with funeral orations, it not being the custom with them to praise their kings and queens in their churches, but pulpit-eloquence, which, before the reign of Charles II. was very rude, became formed on a sudden. Bishop Burnet acknowledges, that this was owing to their imitation of the French; perhaps they have even surpassed their masters; they are not so stiff, affected, and declamatory in their sermons as the French are.

It is also very remarkable that these islanders, who are separated from the rest of the world, and who remained so long untaught, should have acquired at least as much knowledge of antiquity as is to be met with at Rome, though the center of all nations. Massem has unveiled the dark accounts of ancient Egypt; no Persian had ever a more perfect knowledge of the religion of Zoroaster, than the celebrated Hyde. The history of Mahomet, and the times preceding him, which was unknown to the Turks, has been fully illustrated by Hales, who made so many useful voyages to Arabia.

There is no country in the world where the Christian religion has been so strongly attacked, and so learnedly defended, as in England. From the time of Henry VIII. to that of Cromwell, they carried on their disputes like the ancient gladiators, who were wont to come into the arena to fight, with a scymetar in their hand, and a bandage about their eyes. Some slight differences in doctrine and worship, were productive of the most bloody wars; whereas,
since

since the Restoration to the present time, tho' scarce a year has passed without some attack upon Christianity, the controversy has not excited the least disturbance; learning being the only weapon now employed on either side, instead of fire and sword, as formerly.

But, it is in philosophy that the English have particularly had the mastery over all other nations. Ingenious and speculative notions were out of the question. The fables of the Greeks had been long laid aside, and those of the moderns were to appear no more. Chancellor Bacon first led the way, by asserting that we should search into nature in a new manner, and have recourse to experiments. Boyle employed his whole life in making them. This is no place for discussions on natural philosophy; let it suffice to say, that, after three thousand years of vain enquiries, Newton was the first who discovered and demonstrated the great law of nature, by which every part of matter tends towards the center, and all the planets are retained in their proper course. He was the first who truly beheld light; before him we knew not what it was.

His principles of the mathematics, which contain a system of natural philosophy, entirely new and true, are founded on the discovery of what is called the Calculation of Infinites, the last effect of geometry, and which was executed by him at the age of twenty-four. This occasioned that great philosopher, the learned Halley, to say, "That it will never be permitted any mortal to approach nearer to the Deity."

Numberless good geometricians and natural philosophers were at once improved by discoveries, and encouraged to pursue the tract he had

had pointed out to them. Bradley, at length, went so far as to discover the parallax of the fixed stars, at twelve millions of millions of miles distant from our little globe.

The same Halley whom I have just mentioned, though no more than a private astronomer, had the command of one of the king's ships in the year 1698. In this ship he determined the position of the stars of the Antarctic, or South Pole, and marked the different variations of the compass in all the parts of the known world. The famous voyage of the Argonauts was, in comparison with his, no more than the passing from one side of a river to another in a boat; and yet this voyage of Halley's has scarcely been spoken of in Europe.

This indifference of ours for great things, when become too familiar, and the admiration paid by the ancient Greeks to the most trivial ones, is another proof of the prodigious superiority of our age over the ancient times. Boileau in France, and Sir William Temple in England, obstinately deny any such superiority; they seem resolved to depreciate their own age, in order to exalt themselves above it. This dispute between the ancients and moderns is at length decided, at least as to philosophers. There is not one of the ancient philosophers, whose works are now made use of for the instruction of youth, in any of the enlightened nations.

Locke alone might serve as a great instance of the advantage that the present time has over the finest ages of Greece. From Plato, down to him, there is one great chasm, no one during all that interval having explained the operations of the soul; and a person who should be acquainted with all that Plato has wrote, and acquainted

acquainted only with that, would have very little knowledge, and even that erroneous.

The Greek was indeed an eloquent writer; his apology for Socrates is a great piece of service done to the learned of all nations. It is but just to hold him in veneration, who made oppressed virtue so venerable, and its persecutors so detestable. It was for a long time thought that he, who was so fine a moralist, could not be a bad natural philosopher; he was held almost for a father of the church, on account of his Ternarion, which no one understood; but what would be thought of a philosopher in our days, who should tell us that matter is the author; and that the world is a figure of twelve pentagons? that fire is a pyramid, and is linked to the earth by numbers? How would a person be received, who should go about to prove the immortality and metempsychosis of the soul, by saying, that sleep comes from watching, watching from sleep, life from death, and death from life? Yet such are the arguments that have been the admiration of so many ages, and ideas still more extravagant have since continued to be made use of, in the education of mankind.

Locke is the only one who has explained Human Understanding, in a book where there are nothing but truths; and what renders the work perfect is, that these truths are clear.

If we would, once for all, see in what this last age has the superiority over the former ones, we have only to cast our eyes upon Germany, and the North. Dantzick has produced an Hevelius, who is the first astronomer that was ever well acquainted with the planet of the moon, no man before him having ever so carefully examined the heavens; among the many great
men

men whom this age has produced, no one is a more striking example how justly it may be called the age of Lewis XIV. Hevelius lost an immense library by fire. The French monarch recompensed the astronomer with a present that far overpaid his loss.

In Holstein, Mercator was the forerunner of Newton in geometry. The Bernouilli of Switzerland were disciples worthy this great man, and Leibnitz was for some time considered as his rival.

The famous Leibnitz was born at Leipsick: he ended his days in Hanover, like a true philosopher, believing in a God, like Newton, without consulting the various opinions of mankind. He was perhaps a man of the most universal learning in Europe; he was an historian indefatigable in his enquiries; a profound civilian, who enlightened the study of the law by philosophy, foreign as it may appear to that kind of study; so thorough a metaphysician, as to attempt reconciling divinity and the metaphysics; a tolerable Latin poet; and lastly, so good a mathematician, as to dispute with the great Newton the invention of the calculation of infinites, and to make it for some time doubted, which of them had the justest claim to the honour of that discovery.

This was then the golden age of geometry. Mathematicians sent frequent challenges to each other, that is to say, problems to solve, much in the same manner as it is said the ancient kings of Egypt and Asia, sent ænigmas to be answered by one another. The problems proposed by these geometricians were of a much more difficult nature than the Egyptian ænigmas, and yet none of them remained unanswered,

swered, either in Germany, England, Italy, or France. There never was a more universal correspondence kept between philosophers than at this period, and Leibnitz contributed not a little to encourage it. A republic of letters was insensibly established in Europe, in the midst of the most obstinate war, and the number of different religions; the arts and sciences, all of them thus received mutual assistance from each other, and the academies helped to form this republic. Italy and Russia were united by the bonds of science, and the natives of England, Germany, and France, went to study at Leyden. The famous physician Boerhaave was consulted at the same time by the pope and the czar of Muscovy. His principal pupils have in like manner drawn strangers after them, and are in some measure become the physicians of nations. The truly learned of every denomination have strengthened the bands of this grand society of geniuses, which is universally diffused, and every where independent. This correspondence is still carried on, and proves one of the greatest comforts against the evils which ambition and politics scatter through the world.

Italy has preserved her ancient glory in this age, though she has produced no new Tassos nor Raphaels. It is sufficient that she has once produced them. A Cabrera, a Zappi, and a Filicai, have shewn that delicacy is always the portion of this nation. The Merope of Maffei, and the dramatic works of Metastasio, are the beautiful monuments of the age.

The study of true natural philosophy, as established by Galileo, still keeps its ground in spite of the ancient philosophy, which has but

too many bigotted admirers. The Cassinis, the Vivianis, the Mandis, the Bianchinis, the Zannottis, and many others, have spread over Italy the same light which beamed in other countries, and, though its principal rays came from England, yet the Italian schools have been able to gaze on it in all its splendour.

Every kind of literature has been cultivated in this ancient seat of the arts as much as elsewhere, except in those subjects where a liberty of thinking allows a greater scope to the genius in other nations. This age, in particular, has attained a better knowledge of antiquity than the preceding. Italy furnishes more monuments than all Europe together, and in proportion as these have been brought to light, science has become more extensive.

We are indebted for this progress to some wise men and geniuses, scattered in a small number over some parts of Europe, almost all of them for a long time subjected to persecutions, and lost in oblivion; they have enlightened and comforted the world during the wars that spread desolation through it. There are lists to be met with elsewhere, of all those who have been the ornaments of Germany, England, and Italy. It would be very improper, in a stranger, to pretend to rate the merits of so many illustrious men; let it suffice then to have shewn, that in the last age mankind acquired throughout Europe greater lights than in all the ages that preceded it.

C H A P CCXIII.

A List of the Children of LEWIS XIV. The
SOVEREIGN PRINCES cotemporary with him.
His GENERALS and MINISTERS.

The Children of Lewis XIV.

HE married Maria Theresa of Austria, born in 1638, only daughter to Philip IV. by his first queen Elizabeth of France, and sister to Charles II. and Margaret Theresa, whom Philip IV. had by his second wife Maria Anne of Austria. The nuptials of Lewis XIV. were celebrated the ninth day of July 1660, and Maria Theresa died 1683. He had by her,

Lewis the dauphin, called Monseigneur, born Nov. 1, 1661, who died at Meudon April 14, 1711. Nothing was more common for a considerable time before the death of this prince than the following proverb which was applied to him: "The son of a king, the father of a king, and never king." The event seemed to countenance the cruelty of those who place faith in predictions; but this saying was only a repetition of that which went about concerning Philip of Valois, and was moreover founded chiefly on Lewis XIV's own state of health, who was much more robust than his son. This prince had by Mary-Anne-Christiana-Victoria of Bavaria, who died the 20th of April, 1690.

1. Lewis duke of Burgundy, who was born August 6, 1682, and died Feb. 18, 1712. He had issue by his dutchess, Maria Adelaide of Savoy, who died Feb. 12, 1712, N. duke of
Brittany,

164 CHILDREN of LEWIS XIV.

Brittany, who died in 1705; Lewis duke of Brittany, who died in 1712; and Lewis XV. who was born Feb. 15, 1710.

2. Philip, duke of Anjou, king of Spain, born Dec. 19, 1683, died July 9, 1746.

3. Charles, duke of Berry, born Aug. 31, 1686, died May 4, 1714.

Lewis XIV. had two other sons, and three daughters, who all died young.

His natural and legitimated Children.

Lewis XIV. had by the duchess of la Valliere, who turned carmelite nun June 2, 1674, took the habit June 4, 1675, and died June 6, 1710, aged 65.

Lewis of Bourbon, count of Vermandois, born Oct. 2, 1667, died in 1683.

Mary-Anne, called Mademoiselle de Blois, born in 1666, was married to Armand prince of Conti, and died in 1739.

Other natural and legitimated Children.

Lewis-Augustus of Bourbon, duke of Main, born March 31, 1670, died in 1736.

Lewis-Cæsar, count of Vexin, abbot of St. Dennis and St. Germain des Prés, born in 1672, died in 1683.

Lewis-Alexander of Bourbon, count of Toulouse, born June 6, 1678, died in 1737.

Louisa-Frances of Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Nantes, born in 1673, was married to Lewis III. duke of Bourbon-Condé, and died in 1743.

Louisa-Maria of Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Tours, died in 1681.

Frances

COTEMPORARY PRINCES. 165

Frances-Mary, of Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Blois, born in 1677, was married to Phillip II. duke of Orleans, regent of France, died in 1749.

Two other sons who both died young.

Cotemporary Princes.

P O P E S.

Barberini Urban VIII. died in 1644
It was he who first gave the title of *eminence* to the cardinals.

Pamfilo Innocent X.	1655
Chigi Alexander VII.	1667
Rospigliosi Clement IX.	1669
Altieri Clement X.	1676
Odescalchi Innocent XI.	1689
Ottoboni Alexander VIII.	1691
Pignatelli Innocent XII.	1700
Albani Clement XI.	1721

The Ottoman House.

Ibrahim died in	1656
Mahomet IV.	1687
Soliman III.	1691
Achmet II.	1695
Mustapha II.	1703
Achmet III. deposed in	1730

Emperors of Germany.

Ferdinand III. died in	1657
Leopold I.	1705
Joseph I.	1711
Charles VI.	1740

Kings

Kings of Spain.

Philip IV. died in	1665
Charles II.	1700
Philip V.	1746

Kings of Portugal.

John IV. duke of Braganza, died in	1656
Alphonso-Henry, dethroned, in 1667	1683
Peter II.	1706
John V.	1750

Kings of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Charles I. beheaded in	1649
Charles II. died in	1685
James II. dethroned in 1688	1701
William III.	1702
Anne Stuart	1714
George I.	1727

Kings of Denmark.

Christian IV. died in	1648
Frederick III.	1670
Christian V.	1699
Frederick IV.	1730

Kings of Sweden.

Christina abdicated in 1654, died in	1689
Charles-Gustavus	1660
Charles XI.	1697
Charles XII.	1718

Kings

Kings of Poland.

Ladislaus Sigismund died in	1648
John Casimir abdicated	1667
Michael Wiefnowski died in	1673
John Sobieski	1696
Frederick-Augustus, elector of Saxony	1733
Stanislaus	

Kings of Prussia.

Frederick I. died in	1613
Frederick-William	1740

Czars.

Michael-Foederowitz died in	1645
Alexis-Michaelowitz	1676
Fodor-Alexiowitz	1682
{ Iwan-Alexiowitz	1688
{ Peter-Alexiowitz	1725

Marshals of France, who either died in the reign of Lewis XIV. or served under him.

D' Albret (Cæsar Phæbus) of the royal house of Navarre, made marshal of France in 1653: notwithstanding his high descent, he made no scruple to marry the daughter of Guénegaud, the king's treasurer, a young lady of great merit. He died in 1676.

D' Alegre (Yves) who served in the armies of Lewis XIV. near sixty years before he was made marshal of France in 1724. He died in 1733.

D' Asfeldt (Claud-Francis-Bidal). He acquired great reputation in the art of attacking and de-

defending places. He was made marshal of France in 1734.

D'Aubusson (Francis de la Feuillade), made marshal in 1675, the same who out of gratitude erected the statue of Lewis XIV. in the Square des Victoires. He died in 1691. His son was not made marshal till a long time after his death, viz in 1725.

D'Aumont (Anthony), grandson to the famous John Marshal d'Aumont, one of Henry IV's great generals. Anthony was greatly instrumental in gaining the battle of Rhetel in 1650. He had the marshal's staff given him as a reward. He died in 1669.

De Balincourt, made marshal in 1746.

Berwick (James Fitz-James duke of), natural son to James II. king of England, by a sister of the duke of Marlborough. He was created duke of Berwick in England by his father. He was likewise a duke of Spain and of France: he was made marshal in 1706, and was killed at the siege of Philippsburg in 1734.

Bassompierre (Francis de) born in 1579, a man well known in the world, but few people know that he caused the ditch in the queen's course to be lined with stone at his own expence. He was made marshal in 1622, and died in 1646.

Bellefond (Bernardine, Gigaul de), made marshal in 1668, died in 1694.

De Belle-Isle (Lewis Charles Augustus de Fouquet) distinguished himself in the war of 1710, is a duke and peer of France, and a prince of the empire, made marshal in 1741.

Bezons (James Bazin de) made marshal in 1709, died in 1733.

Biron

Biron (Armand Charles de Goutaut, duke of). He revived the ducal dignity in his house. Though he served in all the wars of Lewis XIV. and lost an arm at the siege of Landau, he was not made marshal till the year 1734.

Boufflers (Lewis Francis duke of) made marshal in 1693, died in 1711.

Du Bourg (Eleonor Maria du Maine, count) gained an important battle under Lewis XIV. but was not made marshal till 1725, and died the same year.

Branças, (Henry de Villars de Sérest) after having served Lewis XIV. for a great number of years, was at length made marshal in 1734.

Breze, (Urban de Maillé, marquis of) brother-in-law to cardinal Richelieu, was made marshal in 1632, afterwards viceroy of Catalonia, and died in 1650.

Broglie (Victor Mauritius) served in all the wars of Lewis XIV. and was at length made marshal in 1724, died in 1727.

Broglie, (Francis Mary, duke of) son to the former, one of the best lieutenant-generals in the wars of Lewis XIV. was made marshal in 1734.

Castelnau (James de) made marshal in 1658, mortally wounded the same year at the siege of Calais.

Catinat (Nicholas de) made marshal in 1693. He blended the talents of the philosopher with those of the soldier. In the last battle in which he commanded, he gave for the word, Paris and St. Gassian, which latter was the name of his country seat, whither he retired, and died like a

philosopher, (after having refused the blue ribbon) in 1712.

Chamilli (Noël Bouton de). He was present at the siege of Candia, was made marshal in 1703, and died in 1715.

Chateau-Renaud (Francis-Lewis Rouffelet de) vice-admiral of France, a great sea-officer, was made marshal in 1703, died in 1716.

Chaulnes (Honourable d'Albre, duke of) made marshal in 1620, died in 1649.

Choiseul (Claude de) the third marshal of France of that name, received the staff in 1698, died in 1711.

Clairambault (Philip Palluau de) made marshal in 1653, died in 1665.

De Clermont-Tonnerre served in the war of 1701, but was not made marshal till 1747.

Coigni, (Francis de Franquelot) was a long time a general officer under Lewis XIV. was made marshal in 1734. He gained two battles in Italy.

Coligni, (Gaspard de) grandson to the admiral of that name. He was made marshal in 1622. and was killed at the head of the rebel army, under the count de Soissons, at Marsée, in 1646.

Crequi (Francis de) made marshal in 1668. He had the reputation of being the most proper officer to succeed marshal Turenne. He died in 1687.

D'Estampes (James de la Ferté Imbaut) made marshal in 1651, died in 1668.

D'Etrées (Francis Hannibal, duke) made marshal in 1626. It is very remarkable, that at the age of ninety-three he was married to his second wife, mademoiselle de Manican, who miscarried by

by him. He died in 1670, aged upwards of an hundred.

D'Etrées, (John) made vice-admiral of France in 1670, and marshal in 1681. He died in 1707.

D'Etrées (Victor-Maria) son to John D'Etrées, was, like his father, vice-admiral of France before he was marshal. It is remarkable that he commanded in this quality the combined fleets of France and Spain in 1701, was made marshal in 1703, and died in 1707.

Duras, (James Henry de Durfort de) nephew to the viscount of Turenne, was made marshal in 1675, immediately after the death of his uncle; died in 1704.

Duras (John de Durfort, duke of) made field-marshal by Lewis XIV. and marshal of France in 1741.

Fabert (Abraham) made marshal in 1658. People have been determined to ascribe his fortunes and death to supernatural causes; whereas there was nothing extraordinary in him but that he made his fortune entirely by his own merit, and that he refused the ribbon of the order; notwithstanding that they would have dispensed with his giving the requisite proofs: he died in 1662.

Fare (de la) son to the marquis de la Fare, so famous for his pleasing poetical writings. He was an officer in 1701, and marshal in 1746.

Ferté-Senneterre (Henry, duke of la) made marshal in 1651, died in 1681.

Force (James Nompar de Caumont de la) made marshal 1622. The same who escaped the great massacre of St. Bartholomew, and who has given an account of that affair in his memoirs,

which are still preserved in the family. He died in 1652, at the age of 97.

Foucault (Lewis) count of Daugnon, made marshal in 1653, died in 1659.

Gassion (John de) was bred up under the great Gustavus, made marshal in 1643. He was a Calvinist by religion. He would never marry, saying, that he set too little value upon life to share it with any one. He was killed at the siege of Lens in 1647.

Gramont (Anthony de) made marshal in 1641, died in 1678.

Gramont (Anthony de) grandson to the former, made marshal in 1724. He was father to the duke of Gramont, who was killed at the battle of Fontenoi. He died in 1725.

Grancei (James Rouxel, count of) made marshal in 1651, died in 1680.

Guebriant (John-Baptist de Budes) made marshal in 1642, one of the most famous soldiers of his time. He was killed in 1643, at the siege of Rotweil, and interred with great funeral pomp in the church of Notre-Dame.

Harcourt (Henry, duke of) made marshal in 1703, died in 1718. His son has since been made a marshal in 1746.

Hocquincourt (Charles de Mouchi) made marshal in 1651, was killed in the service of the enemy before Dunkirk in 1658.

Hopital (Nicholas de l') captain of the guards of Lewis XIII. made marshal in 1617 for killing marshal d'Ancre. But he was deserving of that dignity besides by many noble actions. We reckon him among the marshals of this age, because he died under the reign of Lewis XIV. in 1644.

Hu-

Humieres (Lewis de Crevan, marquis of) made marshal in 1668, died in 1694.

Joyeuse (John-Armand de) made marshal of France in 1693, died in 1710.

D'Esenghein, an officer under Lewis XIV. made marshal in 1741.

Lorge, Guy Alphonso de Durfort de) nephew to the viscount of Turenne, made marshal in 1676, died in 1702.

Luxembourg (Francis - Henry de Montmorenci, duke of) was bred up under the great Condé, made marshal in 1675. There have been seven marshals of France of this name, exclusive of constables; and there has not been a reign since the eleventh century without some persons of this family at the head of the armies. He died in 1695.

Luxembourg (Christian-Lewis de Montmorenci) son to the former. He distinguished himself in the war of 1701, was made a marshal in 1747.

Maillebois, son to the minister of state Desmarêts, having distinguished himself on every occasion since the war of 1701, he was made a marshal in 1741.

Marfin, or *Marchin* (Ferdinand, count of) having left the service of the house of Austria for that of France, he was made marshal in 1703, and died at Turin in 1706.

De Matignon (Charles-Augustus Goion de Gacé) made marshal in 1708, died in 1729.

Maulevrier-Langeron, made marshal in 1745.

Medavi (James Leenor Rouxel de Grancei, count of) was not made marshal till the year 1724, though he gained a complete victory in 1706. He died in 1725.

De la Meilleraie (Charles de la Porte) was made marshal in 1639, in the reign of Lewis XIII. who presented him with the marshal's staff, on the breach of the city of Hedin. He was grand-master of the ordnance ; and had the character of being the best officer in France for the conduct of a siege. He died in 1664.

Montesquieu (Peter, count of Artagnan) made marshal in 1702, died in 1725.

Montrevel (Nicholas Augustus de la Baume) made marshal in 1703, died in 1716.

Mote Houdancourt (Philip de la) made marshal in 1652, and confined in the castle of Pierre-en-Cese, in 1643. It is observable, that there was not one general during the administrations of Richelieu and Mazarin, but that were either banished or imprisoned. He died in 1657. His grandson was made a marshal in 1747.

Nangis (Lewis Armand de Brichanteau.) He served with reputation under marshal Villars, in the war of 1701, and was made a marshal himself by Lewis XV.

Navailles (Philip de Montaud de Bénac, duke of) made marshal in 1675. Commanded at Candia, under the duke of Beaufort, and succeeded him at his death. He died in 1684.

Noailles, (Anne-Julius, duke of) made marshal in 1693. He signalized himself in Spain, where he gained the battle of Ter. He died in 1708.

Noailles (Adrian Maurice) son to the former, was made general and commander in chief in Rouffillon in 1706, and grandee of Spain, after having taken Gironne. He was not made marshal of France till 1734. He had the direction of

of the finances in 1715; and has since been minister of state.

Plessis Pralin (Cæsar, duke of Choiseul, count of) made marshal in 1645. He had the honour of beating the viscount of Turenne, at Rhétel, in 1650. He died in 1675.

Puisegur (James de Chastenet de) made marshal in 1734, son to James Puisegur, lieutenant-general, under Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. who gained great reputation, and left a volume of memoirs. The marshal himself has written upon war. He was a person consulted by the ministry on all critical occasions.

Richelieu (Lewis Francis Armand du Plessis, duke of,) a brigadier under Lewis XIV. general and commander in chief at Genoa, made marshal in 1748, took the island of Minorca from the English in 1756.

Rochefort (Henry Lewis, marquis of Alongni, and marquis of) made marshal in 1675: died in 1676.

Roquelaure (Anthony Gaston John Baptist, duke of) made marshal in 1724.

Rosen (Conrad de) general to James II. in Ireland, made marshal in 1703, died in 1715.

Saint-Luc (Timoleon d'Épinai de) son to the valiant Saint-Luc, whose panegyric is to be found in Brantome. He was made marshal in 1628, died in 1644.

Schomberg (Frederick Armand) was bred up under Frederick Henry, prince of Orange, made marshal in 1675, duke of Mertola in Portugal, governor and generalissimo of Prussia, duke and general in England. He was a zealous protestant, and quitted France upon the

revocation of the edict of Nantz. He was killed at the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

Schulembourg (John de) count of Mondejeau, a native of Prussia, made marshal in 1658; died in 1671.

Tallard (Camillus d'Ostun, duke of). He concluded the two treaties of partition, was made marshal of France in 1703, minister of state in 1726, and died in 1728.

Tesse (René de Frouillai) made marshal in 1703, died in 1725.

Turenne (Henry de la Tour, viscount of) born in 1611, made marshal of France in 1644, field-marshal-general in 1660; died in 1675.

Vauban (Sebastian le Prêtre, marquis of) made marshal in 1703, died in 1707.

Villars (Lewis Claudio, duke of) who took the name of Hector, made marshal in 1702, president of the council of war in 1718, represented the constable of France at the coronation of Lewis XV. in 1722, and died in 1734.

Villeroi (Nicholas de Nieuville, duke of) governor to Lewis XIV. 1646, made marshal the same year, and died in 1685.

Villeroi (Francis de Nieuville, duke of) son to the former, governor to Lewis XV. made marshal in 1693. His father and himself were chiefs of the council of finances; a title without office, but which gave them a right to a seat in the king's council. He died in 1730.

Vivonne (Lewis-Victor de Rochechouart, duke of) gonfalonier, or great standard-bearer to the church, general of the gallies, viceroy of Messina, and marshal of France in 1675. He is not reckoned the principal marshal of the navy

as he served a considerable time by land. He died in 1688.

D'Uxelles (Nicholas Chalon du Blé, marquis) made marshal in 1703, and president of the council for foreign affairs in 1718. He died in 1730.

Great Admirals of France in the reign of Lewis XIV.

Armand de Maillé, marquis of Brezé, made grand-master, chief, and superintendant-general of navigation and commerce, in France, in 1643; was killed at sea by a cannon-ball, June 14, 1646.

Anne of Austria, queen-regent of France, superintendant of the French seas in 1646. Resigned in 1650.

Cæsar, duke of Vendome, and of Beaufort, made grand-master and superintendant-general of navigation and commerce in France in 1650.

Francis de Vendome, duke of Beaufort, son to Cæsar, was killed at the battle of Candy, June 25, 1679.

Lewis of Bourbon, count of Vermandois, legitimated son of France, made admiral in the month of August 1669, when only two years of age; died in 1683.

Lewis Alexander of Bourbon, legitimated son of France, count of Toulouse; made admiral in 1683, died in 1737.

Generals of the Gallies of France.

Armand, John du Plessis, duke of Richelieu, peer of France, made in 1643, during the life-

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time of Francis his father, resigned this post in 1661, and was succeeded by

Francis, marquis of Crequy, who likewise resigned in 1669, a year after being named marshal of France.

Lewis Victor de Rochechouart, count, and afterwards duke of Vivonne, prince of Tonnai-Charente; made in 1669.

Lewis de Rochechouart duke of Mortemar, in reversion from his father, died April 3, 1688.

Lewis-Augustus of Bourbon, legitimate son of France, prince of Dombes, duke of Maine and Aumale; made in 1688, resigned in 1694.

Lewis Joseph, duke of Vendome, made in 1694, died in 1712.

René, Sire de Frouillai, count of Tessé, made marshal of France in 1712, and resigned in 1716.

The chevalier d'Orleans, made in 1716, died in 1748. Since his death, this dignity has been united to the Admiralty.

Chancellors.

Charles de L'Aubepine, de Chateauf-neuf, keeper of the seals	1653
Peter Seguier	1672
Matthew Molé, keeper of the seals	1656
Stephen D'Aligre	1672
Michael le Tellier	1685
Lewis Boucherat	1699
Lewis Phéliepeaux de Pontchartrain, died in 1727, continued in office till	1714
Daniel Francis Voisin	1717

Ministers.

Julius Mazarin, cardinal, prime-minister, died in	1661
	<i>Super-</i>

Superintendants of the Finances.

Cl. Bouthillier died in	1651
Abel Servien	1659
Cl. de Mesmes, count D'Avaux	1650
Nicholas Bailleul	1652
Charles de la Nieuville	1653
Emeri, (his name was Michael Perticelli)	
René de Longueil de Maisons	1677
Nicholas Fouquet *.	1680

Secretaries of State.

Henry-Augustus de Lomenie de Brienne, died in	1666
Cl. Bouthillier, superintendant of the finances	1651
Lewis Phéliepeaux de la Vrilliere	1681
Abel Servien, superintendant of the finances	1659
Leon Bouthillier de Chavigni	1652
Fr. Sublet des Noyers, superintendant of the buildings	1645
H. de Guenegaud de Planci	1676
Michael le Tellier, chancellor	1685
Lewis Phéliepeaux de la Vrilliere, resigned in	1669
Hugh de Lionne	1669
Henry Lewis de Lomenie de Brienne	1683
John Baptist Colbert, comptroller-general	1683
John Baptist Colbert de Seignelai	1690

* When this man was arrested, the office of superintendant of the finances was suppressed.

Fr. Michael le Tellier de Louvois	1691
Ch. Colbert de Croissi	1696
Simon Arnauld de Pomponne	1699
Balthazar Phéliepeaux de Chateauneuf	1700
Lewis Francis Mary le Tellier de Barbe- fieux	1701
Lewis Phéliepeaux de Pontchartrain, chan- cellor	1727
Dan. Fr. Voisin, chancellor	1717
Lewis Phéliepeaux de la Vrilliere	1725
Michael Chamillard, comptroller-general of the finances	1721
Jerom Phéliepeaux de Pontchartrain, re- signed in 1715, died in	1747
John Baptist Colbert de Torci	1746

C H A P CCXIV.

A CATALOGUE of most of the French Writers who flourished in the Age of Lewis XIV. to serve towards the Literary History of that Age.

Abadie (James) was born in Bearn, in 1658. He was celebrated for his Treatise upon the Christian Religion; but he afterwards hurt the reputation of that work by another, called the Opening of the seven Seals. He died in Ireland in 1727.

Abadie or *L'Abadie*, (John) was born in the province of Guienne in 1610. He was first a Jesuit, then a Jansenist, and afterwards a Protestant; and at last wanted to form a sect of his own, and unite with La Bourignon, who made him this reply, "That every one had their particular share of the Holy Spirit, and that her's was greatly superior to his." He has left thirty-one volumes of fanatical writings. I have given him a place here only as an example of the weakness of human understanding. He was not, however, without his disciples. He died at Altena in 1674.

Ablancourt (Nicholas Perrot d'), of an ancient family, of the parliament of Paris, was born at Vitri in 1606. He was an elegant translator, and the best of his performances of this kind was called the Beautiful Infidel. He died poor in 1664.

Acheri (Luked') a Benedictine monk: he was a great and judicious compiler: he was born in 1609, and died in 1685.

Alexan-

Alexander (Noel), a Dominican, born at Rouen in 1639. He was author of many theological pieces; and had great disputes concerning the Chinese customs, with the Jesuits that returned from thence: he died in 1724.

Amelot de la Houssaie (Nicholas) was born at Orleans in 1634. His translation with political notes, and his historical writings, are greatly sought after: but his alphabetical Memoirs are very faulty. He was the first who ever furnished a true idea of the Venetian government. The senate took umbrage at his history, being still prepossessed with the old mistaken notion, that there are certain political mysteries which ought not to be revealed. Since then, however, it has been discovered that there are no such mysteries, and that true policy consists in being rich, and keeping good armies on foot. Amelot translated and commented upon Machiavel's Prince, a work which was long the favourite of petty lords, who disputed for ill governed territories; but became useless at the time that so many mighty princes, always in arms, suppressed the ambitious views of the weaker. Amelot thought himself the greatest politician in Europe; but he could never rise above a middling station, and at length died extremely poor: the reason was, that he was a politician in genius only, and not in character. He died in 1706.

Amelotte (Dionis), born at Saintonge in 1606. He belonged to the oratory: he is principally known by a tolerable good version of the New Testament. He died in 1678.

Amontons (William), born at Paris in 1663: he was an excellent mathematician. He died in 1699.

Ancillon (David) was born at Metz in 1617: he was a Calvinist, and, together with his son Charles, who died at Berlin in 1715, gained some literary reputation.

Anselm, an Augustin monk. He was the first who compiled a genealogical history of the great officers of the crown, which has been continued and augmented by Du Fourni, auditor of accounts. We have but a very confused notion of what constitutes the great officers of the crown. It is generally thought they are those who bear the title of *great*, in virtue of their office; as grand master of the horse, and grand cup-bearer; but the constables, the marshals, and the chancellors, are great officers, though they do not bear the title of great; and there are others who do bear this title, and yet are not reckoned great officers. The captain of the guards, and the first gentleman of the bed-chamber, are, in fact, become great officers, though they are not reckoned such by father Anselm. However, there is nothing certain on this head; and there is as great confusion and uncertainty in regard to all the rights and titles in France, as there is order and regulation in the administration. He died in 1694.

Arnauld (Anthony), a doctor of the Sorbonne, born in 1612, and the twentieth son of that Arnauld who pleaded against the Jesuits. He is universally known for his eloquence, his erudition, and his disputes, which acquired him so much reputation, and made him at the same time so unfortunate, according to our ordinary ideas of things, which place exile and poverty in the number of misfortunes, without reflecting that glory, friends, and an healthy old age, were the por-

portion of this famous man. It is said, in the supplement to Moreri, that Arnauld, in 1689, in order to ingratiate himself with the court, composed a libel against king William, under the title of "a true Picture of William Henry of Nassau, the modern Absalom, Herod, Cromwell, and Nero." This stile, which resembles that of father Garasse, is very unlike Arnauld's. Besides, he never entertained a notion of flattering the court. A book with so gross a title would have met with a very bad reception from Lewis XIV. and those who ascribe this work, and the view in which it was written, to the famous Arnauld, are ignorant that writing books was no kind of introduction to that court. This great man died at Brussels in 1694.

Arnauld d' Andilly (Robert), elder brother to the former, was born in 1588. He was one of the great writers of Port-Royal. His translation of Josephus, which is the most esteemed of all his works, was presented by him to Lewis XIV. at the age of 85. He was father of Simon Arnauld, marquis of Pomponne and minister of state, who, notwithstanding his high character and interest, was unable to prevent the disgrace which befel his uncle the doctor of the Sorbonne, on account of his disputes. He died in 1674.

Aubignac (Francis d'). He was born in 1604. He had never any other master but himself: he was attached to cardinal Richelieu; but a great enemy to Corneille. His *Pratique des Theatres*, or Practice of the Stage, still continues to be read; but he plainly proved by his tragedy of Zenobia, that knowledge does not give talents. He died in 1676.

Aubri (Anthony) was born in 1616. We have the lives of cardinal Richelieu and Mazarin written by him, which, though indifferent productions in themselves, afford some instruction. He died in 1695.

D'Aunoi (the countess). Her Memoirs and Travels into Spain, together with some romances written in an easy stile, have gained her some reputation. She died in 1705.

D'Aurigni, the Jesuit. He is author of "A new Method of writing History." We have his "Chronological Annals from the Year 1601 to 1715," in which every thing of importance that passed in Europe, during that space of time, is accurately and concisely related. He is very exact in the dates of his transactions. No writer has ever made a juster distinction between truth, falsehood, and uncertainty. He has likewise composed Ecclesiastical Memoirs; but unhappily they are tainted with a party-spirit. Marcel and he have both been eclipsed by the president Hénaut in his Chronological History of France, which is the most concise, and at the same time the most complete work of the kind ever published, and the most convenient for the reader.

Baillet (Adrian) was born in the neighbourhood of Beauvais in 1649: he was a famous critic. He died in 1706.

Baluze (Stephen), of the Limoufin, born in 1631. He formed the collection of MSS. in Colbert's library: he continued his labours until the age of eighty-eight. We are indebted to him for seven volumes of ancient monuments. He suffered exile for defending the pretensions of the cardinal de Bouillon, who imagined himself independent of the king, and founded his pretensions.

tensions on being born of a sovereign prince, during the time when that prince was still in possession of Sedan. He died in 1718.

Balzac (John Lewis) was born in 1564. He was very eloquent, and the first who founded the prize for eloquence: he had the patent of historiographer of France, and counsellor of state, which he called splendid trifles. He died in 1654.

Barbeirac (John) was born at Beziers in 1674. He was a Calvinist, was professor of law and history at Lausanne, and was the translator and commentator of Puffendorf and Grotius. These treatises upon the laws of nations, and upon peace and war, which have never been serviceable in any treaty of peace, nor in any declaration of war, nor to secure the right of any person, seem to be a consolation to the people for the evils which have been wrought by force and policy, by giving them such an idea of justice as seems, like the portraits of celebrated persons, to shew us those we cannot otherwise see. He died in 1729.

Barbier Darcourt (John), known among the Jesuits by the name of the Advocate Sacrus, and in the world by his Criticism on the Dialogues of Father Bouhours, and by his excellent pleading for a person who was put to the rack. He was a long time protected by Colbert, who made him comptroller of the king's buildings; but having lost his protector, he died in misery in 1694.

Barbier (mademoiselle). This lady wrote several tragedies.

Baron (Michael). The pieces which he published under his own name are thought not to be his: his chief excellence was as a player, in which

which art he rose to a degree of perfection rarely to be found, and that seemed peculiar to himself. The theatric art requires all the gifts of nature, joined to a great understanding and unwearied application; and yet this art do many obstinately condemn. The preachers were frequently wont to come to the house, and sit in a close box, with a grate before it, to study Baron, and afterwards go and declaim against the stage. It is customary for the confessor of a player, who is about to die, to require him to renounce his profession. Baron had quitted the stage in 1691, upon some dislike; and returned to it again in 1720, when he was sixty-eight years old. He continued to be admired as a player until 1729: he was then near seventy-eight, and retired from the stage a second time, and died the same year. On his death-bed he protested, that he had never had the least scruple to repeat before the public the master-pieces of wit and morality of the celebrated writers of the nation; and that he thought nothing could be so absurd as to annex an idea of shame to the repeating that which it was glorious to compose.

Basnage (James) was born at Rouen in 1653. He was a Calvinist, and a pastor at the Hague; but he was fitter to be a minister of state than of a parish. Of all his books, his history of the Jews, of the United Provinces, and of the Church, are the most esteemed. Books on temporary subjects die with the circumstances that gave birth to them, while works of general utility remain for ever. He died in 1723.

Basnage de Beauval (Henry) of Rouen, professed the law in Holland, but was more of a philosopher, and wrote upon Toleration in Religion.

ligion. He was a man of great industry, and published an edition of Furetier's Dictionary with additions. He died in 1710.

Bossompierre (Francis, marshal of). Though his memoirs properly belong to the age preceding that of Lewis XIV. yet we give him a place in this catalogue, as having died in 1646.

Baudran (Michael) was born at Paris in 1633. He was a geographer, but inferior in reputation to Sanfon. He died in 1700.

Bayle (Peter) was born at Carlat, in the county of Foix, in 1647. He retired into Holland rather as a philosopher than a Calvinist. He was persecuted in his life-time by Jurieux and after his death by the enemies to philosophy. Could he have foreseen how universally his Dictionary would be read, he would have made it still more useful by retrenching obscure and increasing the illustrious names; he is more esteemed for his excellent manner of reasoning than for his style, that being frequently too prolix, loose, and incorrect; and sometimes so familiar as to sink into a degree of lowness: he was rather a great logician than a profound philosopher: he understood scarcely any thing of natural philosophy, and was wholly unacquainted with the discoveries of the great Newton. Almost all his philosophical articles take for granted, or else contradict a Cartesian theory, which has no longer any existence: he knew no other definition of matter than extent: its other acknowledged or supposed properties have at length given birth to true philosophy. There have been new demonstrations and new doubts, so that the sceptical Bayle is in several places not enough of the sceptic: he lived and
died

died like a wise man. Des Maisieux has written his life, of which he has made a large volume, whereas it ought not to have exceeded six pages. The life of a sedentary writer is to be found in his works. He died in 1706.

Beaumont de Perfixe (Hadouin) was preceptor to Lewis XIV. and archbishop of Paris. His History of Henry IV. which is only an abridgment, inspires us with a love for that great prince, and is well calculated to form a good king. He composed it for the use of his royal pupil. It was thought that Mezerai had a share in writing it: there is indeed a good deal of his manner in it: but Mezerai was not master of that affecting stile in many places so worthy of the prince whose life Perfixe wrote, and of him to whom he addressed it. Those excellent counsels for governing alone were not inserted until the second edition, after the death of cardinal Mazarin. We can form a much juster idea of Henry IV. from a perusal of this history, than from that of Daniel, which is written in a dry manner, and has too much about father Cotton, and too little concerning the great qualities of Henry IV. and the particulars of the life of this excellent king. Perfixe affects every sensible heart, and makes us adore the memory of this prince, whose weaknesses were only those of a great one. He died in 1670.

Beaufobre (Isaac de) was born at Niort in 1659, of a family distinguished in the profession of arms. He was one of those who have done honour to their country, which they have been obliged to quit. His History of Manicheanism is one of the most learned, curious, and best written

written pieces extant : here we find clearly explained the philosophical religion of the Manes, which was formed upon the dogmas of the ancient Zoroaster and Hermes, which for a long time seduced St. Augustine himself. This history is enriched with many curious things in antiquity ; but after all, this, like so many other excellent works, is only a collection of human errors. He died at Berlin in 1738.

Benferade (Isaac de) was born in Normandy in 1612. His little house at Gentilli, to which he retired towards the end of his life, was filled with inscriptions in verse, which were of more worth than his other works : it is pity they were never collected. He died in 1691.

Bergier (Nicholas) had the title of historiographer of France ; but he is better known by his curious History of the great Roads of the Roman Empire, which are now surpassed by ours in beauty, but not in solidity. His son put the finishing hand to this useful work, and printed it under the reign of Lewis XIV. *Bergier* died in 1623.

Bernard (Mademoiselle) has written some dramatic pieces in conjunction with the famous Bernard de Fontenelle. It may not be improper to observe in this place, that the allegorical fable of Imagination and Happiness, which has been published under her name, was written by La Parisiere, bishop of Nîmes, successor to Fléchier.

Bernard (James) of Dauphiny was born in 1658. He was a man of great learning and knowledge : his journals have been esteemed. He died in Holland in 1718.

Bernier

Bernier (Francis surnamed the Mogul), was born at Angiers about the year 1625. He was eight years physician to the emperor of the Indies : his voyages are curious : he wanted, with Gassendi, to revive in part the Epicurean system of atoms, in which he was certainly much in the right ; for the species could not be always reproduced alike, unless the first principles were themselves invariable : but at that time the romantic doctrine of Descartes was all the fashion. He died like a true philosopher in 1688.

Bignon (Jerom) born in 1590. He has left a name greater than his works : he lived before the time of good literature. The parliament, to which he was advocate-general, with reason reveres his memory. He died in 1656.

Billant (Adam) known by the name of Maître Adam or Master Adam, a joiner of Nevers. We must not suffer so extraordinary a person to go unnoticed, who, without any learning, became a poet in his shop : nor can we pass over the following rondeaux of his, which is much better than many of Benferade's.

*Pour te guérir de cette sciatique,
Qui te retient, comme unparalitique,
Entre deux draps sans aucun mouvement,
Pren moi deux brocs d'un fin jus de serment ;
Puis li comment on le met en pratique.
Prens-en deux doigts, & bien chauds les applique
Sur l'épiderme où la douleur te pique,
Et tu boiras le reste promptement,
Pour te guérir.
Sur cet avis ne sois point hérétique ;
Car je te fais un serment authentique,
Que si tu crains ce doux médicament,*

Ton

*Ton Médecin pour ton soulagement
Fera l'essai de ce qu'il communique,
Pour te guérir.*

To cure thee of that curs'd arthritic,
Which keeps thee like a paralytic,
Between two sheets depriv'd of motion,
Provide two flasks of sov'reign potion.
The grape's best juice, that grand specific;
Part warm apply, thy pains terrific
Will fly before its power pacific;
Then drink the rest with pure devotion;
And this will cure thee.
But, if in faith thou'rt not prolific,
To make it still more scientific,
Thy doctor shall confirm this notion,
And drink it up, were it an ocean,
To prove its virtue sudorific;
I can assure thee.

He had pensions both from cardinal Richelieu and Gaston brother to Lewis XIII. He died in 1662.

Bochart (Samuel) was born at Rouen in 1599. He was a Calvinist, and one of the most learned men in Europe for languages and history: he was one of those who went to Sweden at once to instruct and admire the famous queen Christina. He died in 1667.

Boileau Despreaux (Nicholas) of the academy. He was born in the village of Crone, in the neighbourhood of Paris, in 1636: he made his first essay at the bar, and afterwards entered into the college of the Sorbonne: but alike displeased with the tricks of both, he gave himself up entirely to the impulse of his genius, and became
the

the honour of France. His works have been already so much commented upon, that any panegyric here would be superfluous. He died in 1711.

Boileau (Giles) born at Paris in 1631. He was the elder brother of the famous Boileau. There are some translations of his which are of more worth than his verses. He died in 1669.

Boileau (James) another elder brother of Despreaux, and a doctor of the Sorbonne. He had a whimsical genius, and wrote some pieces of an extraordinary kind, in as extraordinary Latin, namely, *The History of the Flagellantes*, or Floggers; *Les Attouchemens Impudiques*, the Lascivious Touches; *Les Habits des Prêtres*, the Priests Dresses, &c. He died in 1716.

Boisrobert (Francis le Metel) more famous for being a favourite of cardinal Richelieu, and for his good fortune than for his merit: he composed eighteen dramatic pieces, which met with no favour but from his patron. He died in 1662.

Boivin (John) was born in Normandy in 1633, was brother to Lewis Boivin, and, like him, furnished lights for the better understanding the Greek writers. He died in 1726.

Du Bos (the Abbé) His History of the League of Cambray is a learned, political, and interesting work. It gives an insight into the customs and manners of these times, and may justly be esteemed a model in this kind of writing: his reflections on poetry, painting, and music, are read with emolument by all artists. It is the most useful performance of the kind that has appeared on those subjects in any nation of Europe. The chief excellence of this work is,

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that

that with a very few errors, it abounds with just, new, and learned reflections. It is not a methodical work; but the author thinks himself, and teaches his readers to think. With all that he was ignorant of music, he never wrote a line of poetry, and did not possess a single picture: but he had read, seen, heard, and reflected a great deal. He died in 1742.

Bossu (René le) a regular canon of St. Genevieve. He was born at Paris in 1631: he attempted to reconcile Aristotle and Descartes, without reflecting that both the one and the other ought to be thrown aside: his treatise on epic poetry is in great reputation; but it will never form poets. He died in 1680.

Bossuet (James Benignus) of Dijon, was born in 1627: he was bishop of Condom, and afterwards of Meaux. We have fifty-one different pieces of his writing; but his Funeral Orations, and his Discourse on Universal History, are the works that have immortalized his name. It has been several times asserted in print, that this bishop was married, and that St. Hyacinthus, who was famous for the share he had in the little joke of Matanafius, passed for his son; but there never was any proof of this. A family of eminence in Paris, which has produced several persons of distinguished merit, affirm, that there was a private contract of marriage between Bossuet, when very young, and one Mademoiselle des Vieux; that this lady made a sacrifice of her passions and hopes to the interest of her lover, whose eloquence bid fair to procure him considerable advancement in the church, and consented to give up the contract, as the marriage had not been consummated: that

that Bossuet, released from his engagements, entered into holy orders ; and that after his death this family had the settling of this affair, and declare that the lady never made an ill use of the dangerous secrets she was mistress of: she always lived in a chaste and respectful friendship with the bishop of Meaux, who enabled her to purchase the little estate of Maulion, about five leagues distant from Paris, of which she took the title, and lived to almost the age of an hundred. It is, moreover, pretended that this great man's sentiments, as a philosopher, were different from what he taught as a divine, like a learned magistrate, who at the same time that he gives sentence, according to the letter of the law, may in private rise superior to it by the force of his genius. He died in 1704.

Bouchenu de Valbonnais (John Peter) was born at Grenoble in 1651: he made several voyages in the early part of his life, and was on board the English fleet at the sea-fight off Solebay: he was afterwards president of the chamber of accounts in Dauphiny: his memory is still held dear by the inhabitants of Grenoble, for the good he did in that place, and to all men of learning for his noble enquiries: he composed his memoirs of Dauphiny when he was blind, from what was read to him. He died in 1730.

Boubier. The author of several natural pieces of poetry. When he was dying, at the age of eighty-six, he made this epitaph for himself:

*J'étais poëte, historien ;
Et maintenant, je ne suis rien.*

Once poet and historian, I,
Now dust, in dark oblivion, lie.

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Boubier,

Bouhier, president of the parliament of Dijon: he is famous for his erudition: he translated some passages of the ancient Latin poets into French verse, being of opinion that this was the only good way of translating them; but his poetry shews the difficulty of such an undertaking.

Bouhours (Dominic) a Jesuit, was born at Paris in 1628. The French language and good taste owe him many obligations: he was author of several very good pieces, which gave birth to some excellent criticisms: *ex privatis odiis respublica crescit*. His Life of St. Ignatius de Loyola did not greatly please the generality of readers; and that of St. Francis Xavier underwent some strictures; but his remarks on language, and above all his Method of judging rightly of Works of Genius, will be always of use to young people, who are desirous of forming their taste: he teaches them to avoid bombast, obscurity, far fetched and false thoughts. If he passes sentence somewhat too severely upon certain passages of Tasso, and other Italian authors, he as often condemns them justly: his stile is prue and pleasing. The little tract above mentioned greatly offended the Italians, and brought on a kind of national quarrel. It was thought, that the opinion of father Bouhours, which was strengthened by that of Boileau, might come to be a kind of law. The marquis d'Orsi, and some others, composed two very large volumes in defence of some of Tasso's verses: but here let it be remarked, that father Bouhours would have had very little right to reproach the Italian writers with their false thoughts, who himself compares Ignatius Loyola to Cæsar, and Francis Xavier

Xavier to Alexander, only that he was very seldom guilty of these faults.

Bouillaud (Ishmael) of Loudoun, was born in 1605 : he was learned in history and the mathematics. He died in 1694.

Boulainvilliers (the count of) of the house of Crouy : the most learned gentleman of the kingdom in history, and the most capable of writing that of France, had he not been too systematical. He calls the ancient feudal government the Master-piece of Human Genius : he regrets those times in which the people, enslaved by ignorant and brutal petty tyrants, were without industry, commerce, or property ; and is of opinion, that an hundred lords, the oppressors of the earth ; and the enemies of their prince, composed the most perfect of all governments. Notwithstanding this wild hypothesis, he was an excellent citizen, as, notwithstanding his weakness for judicial astrology, he was an able philosopher, so far as it is part of a philosopher to hold life for nothing, and despise death. There is printed at the end of his works, A large scheme for rendering the king of France richer than all the other Monarchs of the World. But it is plain that this piece is not written by the count de Boulainvilliers. He died about the year 1720.

Bourdaloue, was born at Bourges in 1632 : he was a Jesuit, and the chief model for all good preachers in Europe. He died in 1704.

Boursault (Edmund) was born in Burgundy in 1638 : his letters to Babet, which were much esteemed at the time he wrote them, are become, like all other epistolary writings in that taste, the amusement of young country people :

his comedy of *Æsop* is still played. He died in 1701.

Bourseis (Amable) was born in Auvergne in 1606: he was author of several works of politics and controversy. Silhon and he are suspected of composing the Political Testament, said to have been made by cardinal Richelieu. He died in 1672.

Brebeuf (William) was born in Normandy in 1638: he is known by his translation of the *Pharsalia*; but it is not so generally known that he was the author of *Lucan Travesti*. He died in 1661.

Breteuil, Marchioness du Chatelet (Gabriel Emilia) was born in 1706. She illustrated the writings of Leibnitz, and translated Newton with comments; a merit which was of little use to her at court, but which gained her the veneration of every nation that had a love for learning, who admired her depth of genius and eloquence. Of all the women who have adorned France, she had the greatest share of true understanding, and affected the least to be thought a wit. She died in 1749.

Brienne (Henry-Augustus de Lomenie de), secretary of state: he has left some memoirs. It would be useful for ministers of state to compose memoirs; but then they should be such as those which have been lately collected under the name of the duke of Sully. He died in 1666.

La Bruyere (John) was born at Dourdain in 1644. It is certain, that in his *Characters* he has given us the portraits of several well known and considerable personages. This work has occasioned many bad imitators. He died in 1696.

De Bruis (the abbé) was born in Languedoc in 1639. Although the author of ten volumes of controversy, his name would have been buried in oblivion: but his *petit piece* called *Le Grondeur*, (the Grumbler) which is far superior to any of *Moliere's* farces, and the advocate *Patelin*, an ancient monument of the true Gaulish simplicity revived by him, will make him known as long as there is a stage in France. He was assisted by *Palaprat* in these two petty pieces. These are the only works of genius that were ever composed by two authors jointly. He died in 1723.

I cannot close this article without taking notice of a very extraordinary event, to be met with in the Collection of literary Anecdotes, printed by *Durand* in 1650, vol. ii. p. 369, where the author tells us, "The Amours of *Lewis XIV.* having been introduced in a play upon the English stage, *Lewis* was willing, in return, to exhibit those of king *William* upon the French theatre; and the abbé *de Bruis* was ordered by the marquis *de Torci* to write a piece upon this subject, which he did; but though it was greatly applauded by those who saw it in MS. it was never performed."

Here let it be observed, that this Collection of Anecdotes, which is full of the like tales, is printed with approbation and privilege. Now the Amours of *Lewis XIV.* were never made the subject of a piece played on the English stage; and it is well known, that king *William* had never any mistress; or, if he had, *Lewis XIV.* knew too well what he owed to good-breeding to order any one to write a comedy upon *William's* amours: *M. de Torci* was not a person

to make so impertinent a proposal ; and, in short, the abbé de Bruiſ never thought of writing ſo ridiculous a piece as that aſcribed to him. It cannot be too often repeated, that the greateſt part of the collections of Anecdotes, *anals*, and ſecret memoirs, with which the public is overrun, are only wretched compilations, patched up in a hurry, to answer the purpoſes of indigent or mercenary ſcribblers.

Brumoi (the Jeſuit.) His Greek Theatre paſſes for one of the beſt works of the kind : he has ſhewn by his poetry, that it is much eaſier to tranſlate and praise the ancients, than to equal the celebrated moderns by productions of one's own. This author is likewiſe chargeable with not having had a ſufficient idea of the ſuperiority of the French ſtage over that of the Greeks, and the prodigious difference between the Miſanthrope of Moliere and the Frogs of Ariſtophanes.

Brun (Peter le) was born at Aix in 1661. He belonged to the Oratory. His critical Treatiſe on Superſtitious Practices has been greatly eſteemed ; but he is a phyſician who gives an account of a very few diſeaſes only, and is himſelf much diſordered. He died in 1729.

Buffier, (Claud) a Jeſuit. His Artificial Memory is of very great ſervice to thoſe who are deſirous of retaining the principal events of hiſtory always freſh in their minds : he has made that uſe of verſe (I will not ſay poetry) for which it was originally intended ; namely, to imprint on the mind thoſe events which men are deſirous of remembering.

Buſſy Rabutin (Roger, count of), was born in the Nivernois in 1618. He wrote with purity :
his

His misfortunes and his production * are sufficiently known: he died at Autun in 1693.

Cailly (the chevalier de), known only by the name of *Acceilly*: he was devoted to the service of the minister Colbert. The time of his birth and death are alike unknown. There is a collection of his of some hundreds of epigrams, amongst which there are several very bad and some tolerable pretty: he wrote naturally, but without any imagination in his expression.

Calprenede (Walter de la) was born at Cahors, about the year 1612. He was one of the gentlemen in ordinary to the king: he was the first who brought long romances into fashion. The merit of these consisted in a number of adventures, the intrigue of which was artfully enough conducted, and, though incredible, not altogether impossible. Boyardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, on the contrary, loaded their poetic romances with fictions entirely unnatural; but the charms of their versification, the innumerable beauties of the detail, and the admirable allegories, especially those of Ariosto, altogether, have made their poems immortal; while the works of *La Calprenede*, like most other great romance-

* The source of his disgrace was a book which he wrote called the *Amorous History of the Gauls*, containing the most remarkable amours of the age. The piece was not intended for the press; but was presented in manuscript to the king, who was so much incensed, that he sent the author to the Bastile. The count himself pretended, that it was altered, garbled, and interpolated in a shocking manner before it was produced to his majesty. He made great efforts to obtain the king's forgiveness; and, being released from the Bastile, was exiled to his own house in the country, where he lived to a good old age, without ever being able to retrieve the good graces of his master.

writers, are sunk in estimation. What has chiefly contributed to their fall, is the great perfection the stage is arrived at. In a good tragedy, or a good opera, we meet with a much greater number of sentiments than are to be found in all these enormous volumes: these sentiments are at the same time much better expressed, and there appears a much clearer knowledge of the human heart. Thus Racine and Quinault, who have given a little into the stile of these romances, have contributed to obliterate them by speaking more truly to the heart, and in a manner more tender and harmonious. He died in 1663.

Campistron (John) was born at Thoulouse in 1656. He was a pupil and imitator of Racine. The duke of Vendome, whose secretary he was, made his fortune; and Baron the player, in part, his reputation. There are some affecting strokes in his pieces, though they are in general but weakly written: however, the language is pure: and since his time this requisite has been so much neglected in our theatrical pieces, that at length the stile is become almost barbarous. This is what Boileau greatly lamented at his death. He died in 1723.

Du Cange (Charles du Fresne) was born at Amiens in 1610. His two Glossaries are well known for being of the greatest use towards understanding the customs of the latter empire, and the following ages. He was one of those who was rewarded by Lewis XIV. He died in 1688.

Cassandre. He and Dacier have done more service to the reputation of Aristotle, than all the pretended philosophers together. He translated his Treatise on Rhetoric, as well as Dacier has done

done the Treatise on Poetry, of that famous Greek; and we cannot but admire Aristotle, and the age of Alexander, when we find that the preceptor of that great man, who has been so much decried for his natural philosophy, was intimately acquainted with the principles of eloquence and poetry. Where is the naturalist of our age capable of giving rules at the same time for an oration and a tragedy? Cassandre lived and died in a state of extreme poverty. This was not owing to the want of talents; but to a stubborn, morose, and unsociable disposition. Many who complain of the unkindness of fortune have often only themselves to blame.

Cassini (John Dominick) was born in the county of Nice in 1625, and was invited to France by Colbert in 1666. He was the first astronomer of his age; but he began, like all others, by the study of astrology. As he was naturalized in France, and married and had children there, and died at Paris, he may justly be accounted in the number of Frenchmen. He has rendered his name immortal by his meridional clock of St. Petrona at Boulogne, which shews the variations in the swiftness of the earth's motion round the sun. He was the first who demonstrated, by the parallax of the planet Mars, that the sun is at least thirty-three millions of miles distant from the earth. He foretold the path described by the comet of 1664: he likewise discovered the five satellites of Saturn, of which Huygens had seen only one; and this discovery of Cassini's was celebrated in an historical medal of Lewis XIV. He died in 1712.

Catrou was born in 1659. He was a jesuit, and, in conjunction with father Rouillé, composed

posed twenty volumes of the Roman History, in which, for the sake of eloquence, they have neglected exactness. He died in 1737.

Du Cerceau (John-Anthony) was born in 1670. He was a Jesuit. In his French poetry, which is but of the middling kind, there are some verses naturally and happily turned. He has intermixed the purity of style of the age he wrote in, with something in the manner of Marot; a style which, by its too great negligence, enervates poetry, and spoils the present language, by introducing antiquated words and terms. He died in 1730.

Cerisi (Germain-Habert). He lived in the dawn of good taste, at the time when the French academy was first established. His *Metamorphosis of Philis's Eyes into Stars* was cried up as a master-piece; but ceases to be so, since the appearance of so many excellent writers. He died in 1655.

LaChambre (Marin Cureau de). He was born at Mons in 1594: he was one of the first members of the academy: he died in 1669. Both he and his son had some share of reputation.

Chantereau (Lewis le Fevre) was born in 1588. He was a man of great learning, and one of the first who cleared up the history of France; but he has given sanction to a great error, namely, that the hereditary fiefs did not begin until after the reign of Hugh Capet; whereas, if we regard only the example of Normandy, which was given, or rather extorted, by the title of an hereditary fief in 912, it will be sufficient to overthrow the opinion of Chantereau, which has been adopted by several historians. It is moreover certain, that feudal honours, with property,
were

were instituted in France by Charlemagne, and that this form of government was known before his time in Lombardy and Germany. Chante-reau died in 1658.

Chapelain (John) was born in 1595. Had it not been for his Pucelle, (or Maid of Orleans), he would have had some reputation in the literary world: he got more, however, by that wretched poem than Homer did by his Iliad. Chapelain was nevertheless of some use by his learning. It was he who corrected Racine's first poetical attempts. At his first setting out, he was the oracle of all poets, and at length became their disgrace: he died in 1674.

La Chapelle, receiver-general of the finances, author of some tragedies, which had success in their time. He was one of those who endeavoured to imitate Racine; for this great writer, like the great masters in painting, formed a school without knowing it. This Raphael in poetry did not, however, form a Julio Romano; and yet some of his first disciples wrote with tolerable purity of language; whereas, in the decline which followed, we have seen, even in our time, whole tragedies, in which there are not four lines together without some gross faults.

Chapelle, (Claude Huillier) natural son to de l'Huillier, master of accounts. It is not true that he was the first who made use of double rhimes: d'Assouci used them before him, and even with some success.

*Pourquoi donc, sexe au teint de rose,
Quand la charité vous impose
La loi d'aimer votre prochain,
Pouvez-vous me harir sans cause,*

*Moi qui ne vous fis jamais rien ?
 Eh ! pour mon honneur je vois bien
 Qu'il faut vous faire quelque chose.*

Ah ! sex, by nature form'd to please,
 When charity this law decrees,
 That one another we should love :
 Can you thus hate with so much ease.
 Me who am harmless as a dove ?
 I find, mine honour to approve,
 I must do something more than tease.

Chapelle had more success than others in that kind of verse which requires grace and harmony; but even here he frequently prefers a barren abundance of rhymes to the thought and turn. His voluptuous manner of living, and the few pretensions he made, contributed greatly to the fame of his little pieces. It is known, that in his voyages to Montpellier there are many strokes of Bachaumont, son to the president le Coineux, one of the most amiable men of his time. Chapelle was moreover one of the best pupils of the famous Gassendi: however, we shall always distinguish between the encomiums that so many men of letters have bestowed on Chapelle, and geniuses of his stamp; and those which are given to great masters. He died in 1686:

Chardin. (John) was born at Paris in 1643. No traveller has left more curious memoirs. He died at London in 1713:

Charleval (John Faucon de Ris). He was one of those who acquired reputation by a delicacy of genius, without making it too public.

The famous dialogue between marechal de Hocquincourt and father Canaye, printed at the end

end of St. Evremont's works, was written by Charleval, as far as the little dissertation upon Jansenism and Molinism, which was added by St. Evremont. The stile of this latter part is very different from that of the beginning. The late monsieur de Caumartin, counsellor of state, was in possession of Charleval's own MS. We are told in Moreri, that the president de Ris, nephew to Charleval, would not suffer his uncle's works to be printed, lest the name of an author should happen to prove a disgrace to the family. A man must be very meanly bred, and very weak, to advance any thing of this nature in the present age; and in a person of the long robe it would have been an instance of pride, worthy only of the time of military ignorance and barbarism, when study was left wholly to those of the robe, through a contempt for both the one and the other.

Charpentier (Francis) was born at Paris in 1620. He was an useful academic. We have a translation of the *Cyropædia* by him: he was a strenuous defender of the opinion, that our public monumental inscriptions in France should be in the French language. In fact, it is degrading a language, which is now spoken through all Europe, to be diffident of using it; and it is acting counter to the intention to speak to a whole people in a tongue that is unintelligible to at least three fourths of them. There is a kind of cruelty in latinizing French names, as it may mislead posterity, and the names of Rocroi and Fontenoi have a more pleasing sound than those of Rocrosum and Fonteniacum. He died in 1702.

La Châtre [Edme, marquis of] He has left some memoirs. He died in 1645.

Chau-

Chaulieu (William) was born in Normandy in 1639: he is well known for his easy and negligent way of writing verse, and for the bold and sensual beauties found in them. Most of his verses breathe the spirit of freedom, pleasure, and a philosophy superior to vulgar prejudice: this was his real character: he lived in pleasure, and died with intrepidity in 1726.

Cheminais, a Jesuit: he was called the Racine of preachers, and Bourdaloue the Corneille.

Cheron (Elizabeth) was born at Paris in 1648. She was famous for her knowledge of music, painting, and poetry, and was better known by her own name than by that of her husband, the sieur le Hay. She died in 1711.

Chevreau (Urban) was born at Loudoun in 1613: he was in much reputation as a learned man, and a great wit. He died in 1701.

Chifflet (John-James) was born at Besancon in 1588. There are several Enquiries written by him. He died in 1660. There have been seven authors of this name.

Choisi (Francis de) was born at Rouen in 1644: he was envoy at Siam, and has left us an account of that embassy: he composed several historical pieces, and a translation of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, dedicated to madame de Maintenon, with this motto; *Concupiscet rex decorum tuum*: as also the Memoirs of the Countess des Barres, which countess is himself; he having worn the dress, and lived as a woman for several years: he made a purchase of an estate near Tours, under the name of the countess des Barres. In these Memoirs he relates freely the many mistresses he had under this disguise. Whilst he led this life he wrote the
History

History of the church. In his Memoirs of the Court we meet with several facts, of which some are true, some false, and many taken upon trust; they are written in rather too familiar a style.

Claude (John) was born in Agenois, in 1619. He was minister of Charenton, and was the pride of his sect. He was worthy of being the rival of Bossuet, Arnould, and Nicole. He composed fifteen pieces, which were all greedily sought after in those times of disputation. Polemical writings have all but their stated time: but the Fables of la Fontaine, and the Works of Ariosto, will be handed down to the latest posterity. Five or six thousand volumes of controversy are already buried in oblivion. This writer died at the Hague, in 1687.

Le Coigne (Charles) was born at Troies, in 1611. He belonged to the oratory. His Ecclesiastical Annals, printed at the Louvre by order of the king, are useful monuments in their kind. He died in 1681.

Collet (Philibert) was born at Dombes in 1643. He was born a civilian, and a free thinker. Being excommunicated by the bishop of Lyons, on account of a parish quatrel, he wrote against the sentence. He opposed the confinement of women in cloisters, and, in his treatise on usury, he argues strongly in support of the custom established at Bresse of stipulating the interest with the principal, a custom adopted by the greatest part of Europe, and followed by most of the trading part of the rest; notwithstanding the laws to the contrary, which are easily evaded. He likewise affirms, that the
tithes.

tithes paid to churchmen do not belong to them by divine right. He died in 1718.

Colomiez (Paul.) The time of his birth is not known. His works begin to sink into oblivion, but they are useful to those who are fond of literary enquiries. He died at London in 1692.

Commire (the Jesuit.) He was in reputation amongst those who think that good Latin verses may be made at present, and that foreigners are capable of reviving the Augustan age, in a language they are not even able to pronounce.

In silvam ne ligna feras.

Cordemoi (Gerald) was born at Paris. The learned world is obliged to him for having cleared up the confused accounts of the first races of the kings of France, and indebted to the duke of Montausier for this useful undertaking, who set him about writing the history of Charlemagne, for the use of Monseigneur the dauphin, of whom he had the education. He met with nothing but absurdities and contradictions in our old French historians; however the difficulty served to encourage him, and he cleared up the two first races. He died in 1684.

Corneille (Peter) was born at Rouen in 1606. Though at present only six or seven of his pieces are played, yet he will always be the father of the stage. He is the first who raised the genius of the nation, which is sufficient to gain pardon for about twenty of his pieces, which, except in a very few places, are the worst that we have, both for stile, barrenness of intrigue, and insipid and misplaced amours; and by a heap of

wire-

wire-drawn conversations, which are the reverse of true tragedy. But we are to judge of a great man only by his excellencies, and not by his faults. It is said that his translation of the *Imitation of Christ* went through thirty-two editions; this however is as difficult to believe, as it is to read one of them. He received a gratification from the king in his last illness; he died in 1684.

It is said in several printed collections of anecdotes, that he had a particular place set apart for him at the play-house; and that, whenever he came in, every body rose and received him with a clap. Unhappily, mankind are not so ready to do justice to merit. The real truth is, that the king's comedians refused to play his eight last pieces, and he was obliged to give them to another company.

Corneille (Thomas) was born at Rouen in 1625. He would have gained great reputation, if he had not had a brother. There are thirty-four dramatic pieces of his. He died poor, in the year 1709.

Cousin (Lewis) was born at Paris in 1517. He was president of the court of Coins. We are indebted to him for several translations from the Greek historians, which were not known before. He died in 1707.

The baron *des Coutiers* translated Lucretius in prose, with commentary-notes, about the middle of the reign of Lewis XIV. He was of the same way of thinking with that philosopher, in relation to most of the first principles of things. He believed matter to be eternal, as did all the ancients. The Christian religion has alone opposed this doctrine.

Dacier,

Dacier, (Andrew) was born at Castres in 1651. He was originally a Calvinist, as well as his wife, and, like her, became afterwards a Roman catholic. He was keeper of the books in the king's cabinet of Paris, a post which no longer subsists. He was rather a learned man than an elegant writer; but his translations and notes will always be of use. He died in the Louvre, in 1722.

Danchet. (Anthony) He succeeded in some few operas, by the assistance of the musician, and they are rather better than his tragedies.

Daucourt, (Florence Carton) the advocate, was born in 1622; and chose rather to apply himself to the stage than the bar. What Regnary was for high comedy, with regard to Moliere, Dancourt was for farce. Several of his pieces still bring crowded houses; they are full of life, and the dialogue is simple and natural. The number of these easy pieces of composition is immense: they better suit the taste of the people, than delicate minds, but amusement is one of the wants of mankind; and this kind of comedy, which is so easy to play, pleases, both in Paris and in the provinces, the majority, who are not capable of tasting more refined pleasures. He died in 1726.

Danet (Peter) was one of those writers who are more useful than celebrated. His dictionaries of the Latin language and of antiquities, were in the number of those remarkable books composed for the education of Monseigneur the dauphin, which, if they did not make a learned man of that prince, contributed not a little to the instruction of the kingdom. He died in 1709.

Dangeau

Dangeau (Lewis abbé de) was born in 1643. He was an excellent academic. He died in 1723.

Daneil (Gabriel) a Jesuit. He was historiographer of France, and has rectified the mistakes of Mezeray, concerning the first and second races of our kings. It is alledged against him, that his diction is not always sufficiently pure; that his stile is poor and uninteresting; that he is not lively in his descriptions; that he has not given sufficient insight into customs, manners, and laws; and that his history is a tedious detail of military operations, in which an historian of his character is always mistaken.

The court of Boulanivilliers, in his memoirs of the French government, says, that Daniel is guilty of a thousand errors. This is saying a great deal; but luckily those errors are of as little consequence as the real truth would have been in their room; for, of what importance is it, to know whether it was the right or the left wing that gave way at the battle of Montléri, or by what part Lewis the Fat entered the ruins of Puiset? A member of society is desirous of knowing by what steps the government came to change its form, what were the several privileges and encroachments of the different bodies, what was done by the general estates, what was the spirit of the nation, &c. Father Daniel's history, with all its faults, is still the best that is to be found, at least till the reign of Lewis XI. He pretends, in his preface, that the early periods of the history of France are more interesting than those of Rome, because Cloris and Dagobert possessed larger territories than Romulus and Tarquin. He was
not

not aware, that the weak beginnings of all great things are interesting to mankind; we are fond of beholding the trifling reign of a nation, to whom France was but a province, and that extended its empire to the Elbe, the Euphrates, and the Niger. It might be acknowledged that our history, and that of other nations, from the fifth century of the vulgar ære to the fifteenth, is only a chaos of barbarous adventures, under barbarous names.

Dargonne (Noël) was born at Paris in 1634. He was a Carthusian friar at Gaillon, and the only one of his order who ever cultivated literature. His miscellanies, published under the name of Vigneul de Marville, are full of curious and bold anecdotes. He died in 1704.

Descartes, (René) born at Touraine, in 1596, was son to a counsellor of the parliamant of Brittany. He was the greatest mathematician of his time, but a philosopher who knew the least of nature, when compared to those who came after him. He passed the greatest part of his life out of France, that he might pursue his philosophical studies more at liberty, in imitation of Saumise, who took the like step; but he was disappointed of the quiet he thought to find in a retirement in Holland. Two professors of the balderdash school divinity, taught at that time, the one named Voet, and the other Shockius, brought the ridiculous charge of atheism against him, with which almost every philosopher had been branded by contemptible writers. It availed him nothing that he had exhausted his genius in collecting proofs of the existence of a God, and in searching for new ones. His enemies compared him to Vanini,
in

in one of the pieces they published against him; not that Vanini was really an atheist, the contrary has been demonstrated; but he was burnt as such, and they could not have made a more shocking comparison. Descartes found great difficulty to obtain a very slight satisfaction, by a decree of the academy of Groniguen. His Meditations, his Discourse on Method, are still in esteem; his natural philosophy is entirely fallen, being founded neither on geometry nor experiments. He was a long time in possession of so prodigious a reputation, that la Fontaine, who knew nothing of the matter, indeed, but was the eccho of the public voice, said of him,

*Descartes ce mortel dont on eût fait un Dieu,
Dans le siècles passés, & qui tient le milieu
Entre l'homme & l'esprit, comme entre l'huitre &
l'homme,
Le tient tel de nos gens franche bête de somme.*

Descartes, in ages past, had been
Ador'd as God. He rank'd between
Pure soul and man immur'd in cloister,
As human brutes 'twixt man and oyster.

The abbé Genet, a writer of the present century, has unfortunately been at the pains to translate Descartes's natural philosophy into French verse.

It is only since the year 1730, that France has begun to recover from the errors of that chimerical philosophy, and since that experimental philosophy and geometry have been cultivated. Descartes has had the same fate in natural

tural philosophy, as Ronfard had in poetry. He died at Stockholm, in 1650.

Desmarets de St. Sorlin (John) was born at Paris, in 1595. He had a great share in writing cardinal's Richelieu's tragedy of *Mirame*. His comedy of the *Visionaries* passed for a master-piece, but this was before *Moliere* appeared. He was comptroller-general extraordinary of war, and secretary of the marine in the Levant. Towards the latter part of his life, he became more known for his fanaticism than his productions. He died in 1676.

Domat, a famous civilian. His book on civil-law met with great approbation.

Douyat (John) was born at Toulouse, in 1639. He was a civilian, and a man of letters. He every year had a child by his wife, and composed a book. The same is said of *Tiracqueau*. The *Journal des Scavans* calls him a great man, but this a title not to be lavished. He died in 1688.

Dubois (Gerard) was born at Orleans, in 1629. He was of the oratory. He composed the *History of the Church of Paris*. He died in 1696.

Duché was valet de chambre to Lewis XIV. He made some tragedies for the court, taken from holy writ, like *Racine*, but not with equal success. His opera of *Iphigenia at Tauris*, is his best piece. It is wrote in the sublime taste; and, though it is but an opera, it affords a strong idea of the best things in the Greek tragedies. This taste did not last long, and soon after we were reduced to simple ballets, consisting of detached acts, made solely for the sake of introducing the dances; thus, even the
opera

opera began to degenerate, at the time that almost every other theatrical production was upon the decline.

Madame de Maintenon made the fortune of this author, by recommending him in such strong terms to monsieur de Pontchartrain, secretary of state, that, supposing him to be a person of some consideration, the minister went to pay him a visit. When Duché, who at that time lived very obscurely, saw a secretary of state enter his house, he thought it was to carry him to the Bastile.

Duchefne (Andrew) was born at Touraine, in 1584. He was historiographer to the king, and author of several historical tracts and genealogical enquiries. He was called the father of French history. He died in 1640.

Dufrénoi (Charles) was born at Paris, in 1611. He was both painter and poet. His poem on painting has been greatly applauded by those who can read other Latin verses than those of the Augustan age: he died in 1665.

Dufrény (Charles) was born at Paris, in 1648. He passed for the grandson of Henry IV. whom he resembled: he was valet of the wardrobe to Lewis XIV. as his father had been to Lewis XIII. His royal master was continually giving him some marks of his bounty, notwithstanding his disorderly way of life, but all could not keep him from dying poor. Though he had a great share of wit, and was not confined in his talents, he never could compose a regular piece. We have several comedies of his writing, in every one of which there are some pretty and singular scenes: he died in 1724.

Dupleix (Scipio) of Cardom. Though this writer was born in 1559, yet he may be reckoned in the age of Lewis XIV. as he was living in his reign: he was the first historian who quoted his authorities in the margin of his work, which is a precaution absolutely necessary in those who do not write the history of their own times, unless they confine themselves to well known facts: his history of France is no longer read, there having been others much better digested, and written since his time: he died in 1661.

Esprit (James) was born at Béziers, in 1611: he wrote a book on the Fallacy of Human Virtue, which is only a commentary on the duke of Rochefoucault. Chancellor Seguier, who had a good opinion of his learning, gave him a patent of counsellor of state: he died in 1678.

Estrades (Marshal d'). His letters are in as great esteem as those of cardinal d'Offat, and it is a circumstance peculiar to the French, that their simple dispatches have frequently been excellent works: he died in 1686.

La Fare (the marquis of): he is well known by his Memoirs, and some agreeable verses: his talent for poetry did not discover itself till he was in his sixtieth year. It was in praise of madame de Cailus, one of the most amiable women of the age both for wit and beauty, that he first exercised his muse; and his verses on that lady are, perhaps, the most delicate of any he has composed.

Maban-

*M'abandonnant un jour à la tristesse,
 Sans espérance, & même sans désirs,
 Je regrettais les sensibles plaisirs
 Dont la douceur enchantait ma jeunesse.
 Sont-ils perdus, disais-je, sans retour ?
 Et n'es-tu pas cruel, amour !
 Toi que j'ai fait dès mon enfance,
 Le maître de mes plus beaux jours,
 D'en laisser terminer le cours
 À l'ennuyeuse indifférence ?
 Alors j'aperçus dans les airs
 L'enfant maître de l'Univers,
 Qui plein d'une joie inhumaine
 Me dit en souriant, Tircis, ne te plain plus,
 Je vais mettre fin à ta peine,
 Je te promets un regard de Cailus.*

Indulging once a melancholly vein,
 Depriv'd of hope, and even without desire,
 I sigh'd to think of that gay, pleasing fire,
 Which flush'd with rapture, youth's enchanting
 reign !

And are these tender joys for ever flown ?

Ah ! cruel Love, so early known,
 My prime of manhood own'd thy pow'r in-
 tense ;

If then the zenith of my days was thine,
 Ah ! leave me not a prey in life's decline,
 To vacant thought and cold indifference.
 Then hov'ring in the nether sky,
 The world's great master, Love, I spy ;
 Who, smiling with inhuman glee,
 Said, prithee Thirsis cease to wail,
 More happy days thou still shalt see ;
 A glance of Cailus shall thine heart regale.

He died in 1713.

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La Fayette, (Mary Magdalen de la Vergne, countess of). Her princess of Cleves, and her Zaide, were the first romances in which the manners of polite life, and natural adventures, appeared described with elegance. Before her they only wrote a heap of impossibilities, in a bombast stile. She died in 1693.

Félibien (Andrew) was born at Chartres, in 1619: he was the first who gave the title of Great to Lewis XIV. in the inscriptions in the town-house of Paris: his Discourses on the Lives of the Painters was that, of all his works, which did him the most honour: he is elegant, profound, and shews great taste; but he makes use of too many words to say a few things, and is absolutely void of method: he died in 1695.

Fénelon (Francis de Salignac) archbishop of Cambray, was born at Perigord in 1651. We have fifty-five different productions of his, all of which seem to come from a heart full of virtue, but his *Telemachus* especially inspires that virtue: he has been in vain condemned by Gueudeville and the abbé Faidit: he died at Cambrai, in 1715.

After the death of Fenelon, Lewis XIV. burnt, with his own hand, all the manuscripts which the duke of Burgundy had preserved of his preceptor's. Ramsay, who was brought up under this celebrated prelate, wrote to me in these words: "Had he been born in England, his genius would have discovered itself more strongly; and he would, without fear, have given full scope to his principles, which no one was acquainted with."

Ferrand,

Ferrand, counsellor of the court of Aids. We have some pretty verses of his writing: he joined with *Rousseau* in the Epigram and Madrigal. The following is a specimen of the taste in which *Ferrand* wrote.

*D'amour & de mélancolie
Célestinus enfin consumé,
En fontaine fut transformé;
Et qui boit de ses eaux, oublie
Jusqu'au nom de l'objet aimé;
Pour mieux oublier Egerie,
J'y courus hier vainement:
A force de changer d'amant
L'infidèle l'avoit tarie.*

Celestinus wasted to the marrow,
By blasted love and moping sorrow,
Was to a fountain chang'd by fate,
Whose waters drank, obliterate
All traces from the lover's mind,
Of swains untrue, or nymphs unkind.
Thither Egeria to forget,
By drinking eagerly, I fly
But lo! the fickle vain coquet,
Herself had drank the fountain dry.

By this we may perceive that *Ferrand* wrote upon subjects of gallantry with more nature, ease, and delicacy; and that *Rousseau* was more forcible and studied in licentious ones.

Feuquières de Pas, (the marquis of) was born at Paris in 1648: he was an officer of consummate knowledge in the art of war, and an excellent guide, if he was not at the same time too severe a critic: he died in 1711.

Le Fevre (Tanegui) was born at Caën in
L 3 Nor-

Normandy, in 1615: he was a Calvinist, and professor at Saumur: he despised those of the sect, though he lived amongst them: he was more the philosopher than the Huguenot: he wrote as well in Latin as a person can write in a dead language, and made some Greek verses, which apparently have had very few readers. The chief obligation which the learned world has to him, is being the father of madame Dacier: he died in 1678.

Le Fevre (Anne) madame Dacier. She was born in the Calvinist faith, at Saumur, in 1651, and is famous for her great learning. The duke of Montausieur employed her in one of those books which were called the Dauphin's, for the education of that prince. Florus, with Latin notes is her's: her translation of Terence and Homer have done her immortal honour: her only fault was, a too great fondness for her own translations. La Motte attacked her with wit, and she replied with erudition. She died at the Louvre in 1720.

Flequier (Esprit) of the country of Avignon, was born in 1632, and was bishop of Lavant, and afterwards of Nîmes. He was born a French and Latin poet, an historian, and a preacher; but he is chiefly known by his fine funeral orations. He composed his history of Theodosius for the use of the dauphin. The duke of Montausieur engaged the best schools of France, to employ their talents in productions for the education of his royal pupil. Flequier died in 1710.

Fleury (Claud) was born in 1640. He was subpreceptor to the duke of Burgundy, and confessor to Lewis XV. his son. He lived at court in retirement and labour. His history of the church

church is the best that was ever written; and the preliminary discourses are still far superior to his history. These are in a philosophical taste; but his history is not. He died in 1723.

La Fontaine (John) was born at Chateau-Thierry in 1621. He was the most plain and simple man living, but admirable in his way, tho' negligent and unequal. He was the only good writer of his time who did not partake of the bounties of Lewis XIV. though entitled to them by his merit and his poverty. His fables are for the most part infinitely superior to any that have been written before or since, in any language whatsoever. In the tales which he imitated from Ariosto, he wants that writer's elegance and purity; he falls far short of him in his descriptions, which defect escaped Boileau in his Dissertation on Joconde, because he did not understand Italian; but in those tales which he has taken from Boccace, *La Fontaine* is superior, as having a much greater share of wit, elegance, and art, than the Italian, whose only merit is simplicity, perspicuity, and exactness of language: but *La Fontaine* corrupted the French. He died in 1695.

Fontenelle (Bernard Bouvier de) Though he was living in 1756, yet he must be an exception to the rule we have laid down for ourselves of not admitting any living person into this catalogue, his great age, being near an hundred when he died, seems to demand this distinction. He is at present equally above panegyric and criticism. He may be considered as the most universal genius that the age of Lewis XIV. produced, and may be resembled to a soil, that from its happy situation bears every kind of fruit. He was

not twenty years of age when he composed the greatest part of the tragic opera of Bellerophon ; after which he wrote his opera of Thetis and Peleus, in which he has greatly imitated Quinault. It was performed with great success ; but his *Æneas and Lavinia* was not so well received. He tried his powers in tragedy, and assisted Mademoiselle Bernard in some of her pieces. He composed two, one of which was played in 1680, but never printed. This piece drew upon him, for a long time, very unjust reproaches ; for he had merit enough to be sensible, that notwithstanding his extensive genius, he was not possessed of the talents of his uncle Peter Corneille for tragedy. He wrote several detached pieces, in which there appeared a depth of knowledge and ingenuity, that plainly discovers a man superior to his own works. In his *Dialogues of the Dead*, and in his verses we may remark the spirit of *Voiture*, but much more extensive and philosophical. His plurality of Worlds was a performance singular in its kind. He had the art of making an agreeable book of the *Oracles of Vandale*. The delicate subjects which are touched upon in that work subjected him to some underhand persecutions, which however he had the good fortune to get the better of. He perceived how dangerous it was to be in the right in those things where men of power and interest are in the wrong. He then applied himself to geometry, and natural philosophy, in which he succeeded with as much ease as he had done in the more pleasing arts. Being appointed perpetual secretary to the Academy of Sciences, he exercised that employ for upwards of forty-years with
univer-

universal approbation. In his history of that academy, he frequently throws a strong light upon the most obscure memoirs. He was the first who introduced that elegant manner of treating the sciences. If he is in some places too flowery, we should consider them as rich harvests, wherein flowers naturally grow up with the corn.

His history of the Academy of Sciences would be as useful as it is judiciously executed, if his only task had been to give an account of truths brought to light : but he was obliged to explain different opinions that contradicted each other, and which are for the most part destroyed.

The eulogiums which he pronounced on the deceased members of the Academy have the singular merit of rendering the sciences respectable, and of establishing the merit of the author. In vain have the abbé des Fontaines, and others of his stamp, attempted to obscure his reputation ; it is the property of great men to have contemptible enemies. Notwithstanding his having lately published a few indifferent comedies, and an Apology for the Vortices of Descartes, we will readily pardon the faults in his Dramatic pieces, on account of his great age ; and his Cartesian principles, in consideration of those ancient opinions having been when he was young the general received ones of all Europe.

In a word, he is considered as the head of those who have the pleasing art of throwing new lights and graces upon the abstract sciences. He has likewise great merit in every other species which he has undertaken. These great

talents were supported by a knowledge of languages and history ; and he was without contradiction superior to all the learned men who have not had the gift of invention.

Forbin (Claud. chevalier de.) He was chef-d'escarde, or commodore in the French navy, and high-admiral to the king of Siam. He has left some curious memoirs, which have been digested and published, by which a judgment may be formed between him and Gué Trouin.

La Fosse (Anthony) was born in 1658. *Manlius* is his best dramatical piece. He died in 1708.

Fraquier (Claude) was born at Paris in 1666. He was well versed in literature, and had a great share of taste. He wrote only a few Latin verses, and some dissertations. He died in 1728.

Furetiere (Anthony) was born in 1620. He was famous for his dictionary and his disputes. He died in 1688.

Gacon (Francis) was born at Lyons in 1667. Father Nicéron has given him a place in his catalogue of illustrious men, tho' he was never famous for any thing but some bad satires. He had a great share in that collection of gross jokes, called *Brevets de la calotte*. These indecent productions took their rise from a certain society, called the regiment of fools, and of the calotte. This is certainly no part of good taste. These works, and their authors, are held in the utmost contempt by all well bred people, and are never quoted but to inspire an abhorrence of their examples. He died in 1725.

Galant (Anthony) was born in Picardy, in 1646. He learned the Oriental languages at Constantinople, and translated part of the Arabian

bian tales, known by the name of the Hundred and one Nights. He died in 1715.

Gallois (John, abbot of) was born at Paris in 1632. He was a man of universal learning, and the first who worked at the *Journal des Sçavans*, with the counsellor-clerk Sallo, who first formed the plan of that work. He afterwards taught Colbert, the minister of state, a little Latin, who, notwithstanding his many occupations, thought he had time enough to spare for learning that language. He took the greatest part of his lessons in his coach, in his journies from Versailles to Paris. It is said he did it with a view of being made chancellor, which is not unlikely. It is worthy of observation, that the two persons, who were the greatest patrons of learning, namely Lewis XIV. and Monsieur Colbert, neither of them understood Latin. He died in 1707.

Gassendi (Peter) was born in Provence, in 1592. He was the restorer of part of the Epicurean system of natural philosophy. He perceived the necessity of atoms, and of a vacuum; and what he affirmed, Newton and others have since demonstrated. He was not in so great reputation as Descartes, because he was more rational, and no inventor of hypotheses: nevertheless he was accused of atheism, as well as Descartes. Some imagined that he who would, with Epicurus, admit a vacuum; would, like him, deny the existence of a God. This is the way of reasoning of all detractors and calumniators. In Provence, where there was no one jealous of him, Gassendi was called the holy priest. At Paris, the voice of envy gave him the title of atheist. It is true that he was a

sceptic, and that philosophy had taught him to doubt of every thing, but not of the existence of a Supreme Being. He died in 1656.

Gédouin, canon of the holy chapel at Paris. He was author of an excellent translation of Quintilian and Pausanias. He died in 1744.

Le Gendre (Lewis) was born at Rouen, in 1655. He has composed a history of France. To execute such a task well, requires the pen and freedom of the president de Thou, and even then it would be difficult to render the first ages interesting. He died in 1733.

Genest (Charles Claud.) He was born in 1633: he was almoner to the duchess of Orleans, and both a philosopher and a poet: his Tragedy of Penelope is still played with success, and is the only one of his dramatic pieces that has kept its ground on the stage: his laborious work of Descartes's philosophy in verse, or rather in rhyme, is a greater proof of his patience than his genius; and he resembled Lucretius in nothing but having versified a philosophy erroneous in almost every part of its system: he partook of the bounty of Lewis XIV. and died in 1719.

Girard (abbé). His book of *Synonima* is a very useful work, and will last as long as language, and even contribute to preserve it.

Godeau (Anthony). He was one of those who helped to establish the French Academy: he was a poet, an orator, and an historian. It is well known that for the sake of a pun, and in reward for his having rendered the *Benedicite* into verse, cardinal Richelieu gave him the bishopric of Grasse: his Ecclesiastical History in prose is more valued than his poem on the Church

Church Calendar: he was greatly deceived in thinking to equal the Fasti of Ovid; neither his subject nor his genius being sufficient for it. It is a great mistake to think subjects of Christianity as fit for poetry as those of Paganism, whose mythology, as pleasing as it was false, animated all nature: he died in 1672.

Godefroi (Theodore) son to Denis, or Dionysius Godefroi, the Parisian: he was born at Geneva in 1580: he was a learned man, and historiographer of France in the reigns of Lewis XIII. and XIV. he applied himself particularly to titles and ceremonies: he died in 1649.

Godefroi (Dennis) his son, was born at Paris in 1615: he was historiographer of France as well as his father: he died in 1681.

Gombauld (John Ogier de). Though born in the reign of Charles IX. he lived a long time after Lewis XIV. came to the crown. There are some good epigrams of his, of which a few still continue to be repeated. He died in 1666.

Gomberville (Marin) was born at Paris in 1600. He was one of the first members of the academy. He wrote some voluminous romances before the reign of good taste, and his reputation died with him in 1674.

Gondi, (John-Francis) Cardinal de Retz, was born in 1613. He lived like Cataline in his youth, and Atticus in his old age. Several passages in his memoirs are worthy Sallust; but the whole is not alike good. He died in 1679.

Gourville, from valet de chambre to the duke of Rochefoucault, became his friend, and even that of the great Condé. He was at the same time hanged in effigy at Paris, and appointed the king's

king's envoy in Germany, and afterwards proposed as successor to the great Colbert in the ministry. We have memoirs of his life, written by himself, in a natural and unaffected style, wherein he speaks of his birth and fortunes with indifference.

Le Grand (Joachim) was born in Normandy in 1653. He was a pupil of father le Cointe. He is one of the most profound historians we have. He died in 1732.

Grécour, Canon of Tours. His poem of *Philotanus* had prodigious success. The chief merit of these kinds of pièces is generally in the choice of the subject, and the maliciousness of the human heart: not but that there are some good verses in this poem. The beginning is extremely happy, but the end is not at all answerable. The devil does not speak near so pleasantly as when he is first introduced. The style is low, unform, void of dialogue, grace, ingenuity, purity, imagination, or expression; and, in short, is only a satirical history of the bull *Unigenitus* in burlesque verse, of which some lines are extremely diverting.

Guerret (Gabriel) was born at Paris in 1641. He was known in his time by his *Parnassus reformed*, and his war of the authors. He had taste; but his discourse, "Whether the empire of eloquence is greater than that of love," must not be taken as a proof of it. He composed the *Journal du Palais*, in conjunction with Blondau. This journal is a collection of arrets of the French parliaments, which are frequently different decrees in causes of the same nature. Nothing is a stronger proof how much our
practice

practice of law stands in need of being preferred than that there is a necessity of collecting decrees. He died in 1688.

Du Guet (James-Joseph) was born at Forez, in 1649. He was one of the best writers the Jansenists had in their party. His book on the Education of a King was not composed for the king of Sardinia, as has been said: it was finished by another hand. Du Guet had formed his style on that of the best writers of Port-Royal. He might, like them, have done great service to literature. Three volumes upon five and twenty chapters of Isaiah, plainly shew that he was no niggard of his time nor pen. He died in 1733.

Du Gue-Trouin, from a private adventurer became lieutenant-general of the naval forces of France. He was one of the greatest men in his way. He has left us memoirs written in the style of a soldier, and very proper to excite emulation in his countrymen.

Du Halde, the Jesuit, without stirring out of Paris, or having ever seen China, has, from the memoirs of his fraternity, given the best and most ample description of the Chinese empire that is in the world. He died in 1743.

Our insatiable curiosity for knowing every minute particular relating to the religion, laws, and manners of the Chinese, is not yet satisfied: a burgomaster of Middlebourg, named Hudde, a man of great fortune, guided wholly by his curiosity, took a voyage to China, in the year 1700, where he laid out the greatest part of his fortune in informing himself of every thing. He became so perfect a proficient in the Chinese language, that he was taken for a native of
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that country : luckily for him his face favoured the mistake. After some time he found means to be raised to the rank of a mandarin, in which quality he travelled through all the province,, and at length returned to Europe, with a collection of forty years observations. Unhappily, the ship they were on board was cast away, which was the greatest loss that ever befel the republic of letters.

Du Hamel (John Baptist) of Normandy, was born in 1624. He was secretary to the academy of sciences. He was a philosopher, and at the same time a divine. The improvements that have been made in philosophy since his time, take away some part of the merit of his writings ; but his name still remains. He died in 1706.

Count Hamilton, (Anthony) he was born at Caen. He wrote several pretty pieces of poetry, and was the first who made romances in the comical taste, which is widely different from the burlesque of Scarron. His memoirs of the count of Grammont is, of all productions of the kind that wherein the slightest foundation is set off with the greatest, most lively, and most agreeable stile.

Hardouin (John) a Jesuit, deeply learned in history ; but chimerical in his notions. " We are not to inquire, says, Montagne, who knows the most, but who knows the best." Hardouin carried his extravagance so far as to pretend that the *Æneis* and the *Odes* of Horace were written by monks, in the thirteenth century. He will have it that *Æneas* is Jesus Christ, and Horace's mistress, Lalage, the christian

stian religion. The same discernment which discovered to father] Hardouin the Messiah in *Æneas*, made him likewise see atheists in the fathers Thomassin, Quênél, Mallebranche, Arnauld, Nicolle, and Pascal. His folly took away all sting from his calumny: but as all those who revive this charge of atheism against men of learning, are not known fools, it may frequently prove dangerous. We have had instances of several who have abused their office, by using these arms, against which there is no shield, in order to work the ruin of persons of merit, with a weak prince.

Hecquet. He was a physician. In the year 1722, he published his rational system of Trituration, an ingenious theory, but does not account for the manner in which digestion is made. Other physicians have added, in their explanations, the gastric juice and the heat of the viscera: but no one has been able to find out this secret of nature, who conceals herself in all her operations.

Helvetius, a famous physician, who has written excellently upon the animal œconomy and fevers. He died in the year 1750.

Hénaut, known by his Sonnet of the Avorton, and several other pieces; and who would have acquired a great share of reputation, if the three first cantos of his translation of Lucretius that were lost, had appeared, and written like what we have left of the beginning of that work. He died in 1682.

Posterity must not confound this writer with another of the same name, but of much superior merit, to whom we are indebted for the shortest
and

and best history of France ; and perhaps for the only method in which all great histories ought to be written for the future. For so great is the multiplicity of facts and documents, that we must very soon be reduced to extracts and dictionaries. But it will be very difficult to imitate the author of the chronological abridgement, who has gone to the bottom of so many things, and seemed at the same time only to touch upon them slightly.

Herbelot (Bartholemew) was born at Paris in 1625. He was the first Frenchman who thoroughly understood the oriental languages, and history. He was at first taken little notice of in his own country. Ferdinand III. grand duke of Tuscany, received him with marks of distinction, and taught France to know his merit. Then he was recalled and encouraged by Colbert, who was the patron of all merit. His *Bibliothèque Orientale* is equally curious and learned ; he died in 1695.

Hermant (Godfrey) was born at Beauvais in 1617 ; he was author of some polemical works, which perished with the disputes that gave them birth : he died in 1590.

La Hire (Philip) was born at Paris in 1640 : he was son to a good painter ; he was himself a great mathematician, and contributed much to the famous French meridian : he died in 1718.

L'Hopital. (Francis marquis of) He was born in 1662 : he was the first who wrote in France on the calculation of infinites found out by Sir Isaac Newton. This was a prodigy at that time : he died in 1704.

D'Hofier

D'Hosier (Peter) was the son of an advocate, and born at Marseilles in 1592: he was the first who cleared up the account of genealogies and reduced them to a science. Lewis XIII. made him gentleman in waiting, master of his household, and gentleman in ordinary of his chamber. Lewis XIV. gave him a patent of counsellor of state. Several truly great men have been much less rewarded. Their labours were not so necessary to human vanity: he died in 1660.

Des Houlieres. (Antonietta de la Garde) Of all the French laides who have applied themselves to poetry, no one has succeeded so well as this; for her verses still continue to be repeated by every one: she died in 1664.

Huet (Peter Daniel) was born at Caen in 1630: he was a man of universal learning, and retained the same ardour for study till the age of ninety-one: he was invited to Stockholm by queen Christina, and was afterwards one of those illustrious personages who assisted in the education of the dauphin, than whom no prince had ever so great masters. Huet turned priest when he was forty years of age, and had the bishopric of Avranches given him, which he afterwards resigned, that he might be more at leisure to pursue his studies in retirement. Of all his productions, "The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, and the Origin of Romances," are the most read. His treatise on the weakness of the human understanding made a great noise, and seemed to contradict his "Evangelical Demonstrations." He died in 1721.

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Jaquelot (Isaac) was born in Champagne in 1647 : he was a Calvinist, and pastor at the Hague, and at Berlin. He has written some pieces on religion : he died in 1708.

Foli (Gui) counsellor at the Châtelet, and secretary to cardinal de Retz : he has left some memoirs, which are in comparison with those written by the cardinal, what the servant is to the master : but there are some curious particulars.

Jouvency (Joseph) a Jesuit, was born at Paris in 1643. This is another of those who have had the obscure merit of writing Latin, as well as can be done in our time. His book *de ratione discendi & docendi*, though very little known, is one of the best that has been written on the subject since that of Quintilian. In the year 1710, he published at Rome a part of the history of his order, in which he writes like a Jesuit and one who had been at Rome. The parliament of Paris, who think very differently from Rome and the Jesuits, condemned this book, in which is a defence of father Guignard, who had been condemned to be hanged by this very parliament for an assassination, committed on the person of Henry IV. by his scholar Chatel. It is very true that Guignard was in no wise an accomplice in this murder, and that he met with hard usage from the parliament; but it is equally true that this severity was necessary in those unhappy times, where a part of Europe, blinded by the most horrible fanaticism, thought it an act of religion to murder the best of kings and the best of men. He died in 1716.

De L'Isle (William) was born at Paris in 1675: he reformed geography, which had for a long time stood in need of improvement: he changed the whole position of our hemisphere as to longitude: he taught geometry to Lewis XV. who has proved one of his best pupils: that monarch having composed, after the death of his master, a Treatise on the Course of Rivers. William de L'Isle was the first who had the title of chief geographer to the king. He died in 1726.

Labbe (Phillip) was born at Bourges in 1607: he was a Jesuit: he has done great services to history: he has left seventy-three pieces of his writing. He died in 1667.

Le Laboureur (John) was born at Montmorency in 1623: he was a gentleman in waiting to Lewis XIV. and afterwards almoner: his account of the voyage to Poland, which he made with the marshaleſs de Guébriant, the only woman that ever had the title, and executed the functions of an ambassadress plenipotentiary, is very curious. The historical remarks with which he has enriched the Memoirs of Castelnau have thrown a great light upon the history of France. The wretched poem called Charlemagne was not written by him, but by his brother. He died in 1675.

Laiyé or *Lainex* (Alexander) was born in Hainault in 1650: he was an extraordinary poet, and some little pieces of his, very happily written, have been collected. A certain person, who was at great pains and expence to have a Mount Parnassus made in bronze, and covered with figures in relievo, of all the poets and musicians that came into his head, has placed Lainé

in the rank of the most illustrious. The only truly delicate verses of his that we have, are those written on madame de Martel.

*Le tendre Apelle un jour dans ces jeux si vantés
Qu' Athènes sur ses bords consacrait à Neptune,
Vit au sortir de l'onde éclater cent beautés.*

*Et prenant un trait de chacune,
Il fit de sa Venus le portrait immortel.
Helas ! s'il avait vu l'adorable Martel,
Il n'en aurait employé qu'une.*

To Neptune when the Isthmian games of yore,
Were solemniz'd on the Athenian shore,
An hundred nymphs in blooming youth array'd,
Uprising from the wave, their charms display'd
From each a shining feature fam'd Apelles chose,
And an immortal Venus from his pencil rose :
But had Martel once met his ravish'd eye,
Her heav'nly form alone would all those charms
supply.

It may not be known perhaps that these lines are
a translation of this beautiful passage in Ariosto,

*Non avea da torre altra, &c. **

He died in 1710.

Lambert

* We shall give the whole stanza, for the entertainment of the reader. Ariosto, speaking of Olympia, whom Orlando delivered from the sea-monster, says,

*E se fosse costei stata á Crotone,
Quando Zeusi l'immagine far volse,
Che por dovea nel tempio di Giunone,
E tante belle nude insieme accolse,
E chè per une farne in perfezzione,
Da chi una parte, e da chi un'altra tolse;*

Non

Lambert (Anne Theresia de Marguerat de Courcelles, marchioness of) was born in 1647, and was a lady of great wit and understanding. She has left some useful pieces of morality, written in an agreeable style. Her Treatise on Friendship shews her deserving of having friends. The number of ladies who have been shining ornaments to this glorious age, is one of the greatest proofs of the progress of human understanding.

La donne son venute in eccellenza.

Di ciascun' arte ove hanno posto cura. Ariost.

The ladies then to excellence attain'd,
In every curious art they chose to learn.

He died at Paris in 1703.

Lami (Barnard) was born at Mons in 1640: he belonged to the oratory: he was learned in more than one science: he composed his Elements of the Mathematics in a journey that he made on foot from Grenoble to Paris. He died in 1715.

Lancelot (Claud). He was born at Paris in 1615: he had a hand in several very useful pro-

*Non avea da torre altra, che costei,
Che tutte le bellezze erano in lei.*

And had Olympia to Crotona stray'd,
When Zeuxis first imain'd his design,
That piece in Juno's fane to be display'd,
And many naked beauties did combine;
That in perfection it might be array'd,
From each to cull some lineament divine;
He would have fix'd his eyes on her alone;
For ev'ry charm in her united shone.

Orland. Furios. Cant. xi.

ductions

ductions of the recluses of Port Royal, for the education of youth. He died in 1695.

De Larrey (Isaac) was born in Normandy in 1638: his history of England was much esteemed before that of Rapin made its appearance; but his History of Lewis XIV. had never any reputation. He died at Berlin in 1719.

Launai (Francis) was born at Angers in 1612: he was a civilian, and a man of letters: he was the first who taught the French law at Paris. He died in 1693.

Launoy (John) was born in Normandy in 1603: he was a doctor in theology: he was a laborious scholar, and an intrepid critic: he detected a great many errors in religion, particularly that relating to saints, whose existence he denied. It is well known that the curate of St. Eustachius said, he always paid him the greatest respect, for fear he should take his St. Eustachius from him. He died in 1678.

Lauriere (Eusebius) was born at Paris in 1659: he was a lawyer, and no one better understood jurisprudence, and the origin of laws: he was the person who formed the collection of ordinances, an immense work which did great honour to the reign of Lewis XIV. and is a monument of the mutability of all human things. A collection of ordinances is only a history of variations. He died in 1728.

Le Clerc (John) was born at Geneva in 1657, but his family was originally of Beauvais: he was not the only learned man of his family, but he was the most learned: his *Bibliothèque Universelle*, in which he has imitated Bayle's Republic of Letters, is his best performance: his greatest merit is, that he came near to Bayle, whom

whom he had so frequently attacked : he wrote a great deal more than that great man ; but he was not like him acquainted with the art of pleasing and instructing at the same time, which is so much superior to all science. He died at Amsterdam in 1736.

Lemery (Nicholas) was born at Rouen in 1645 : he was the first rational chemist, and the first who published a General Pharmacopœia. He died in 1715.

Lenfant (James) was born at Beaufle in 1661 : he was a Calvinist pastor at Berlin : he was more instrumental than any one in carrying the energy and beauty of the French tongue to the most distant parts of Germany : his History of the Council of Constance, judiciously revised and elegantly written, will be a proof to latest posterity how much good and evil may arise from these great assemblies, and that good laws may be produced even from the midst of passions, self-interest, and cruelty itself. He died in 1692.

Des Lions (John) was born at Pontoise in 1615 : he was a doctor of the Sorbonne, a man singular in his way, and author of several polemical pieces : he attempted to prove that the rejoicings on the feast of the Epiphany or Twelfth Day were profane, and that the world was soon to be at an end. He died in 1700.

Le Long (James) was born at Paris in 1655 : he was of the Oratory. His *Bibliothèque Historique de la France* is a very learned work, and of great utility, though it has some faults. He died in 1721.

Longepierre (Hillary-Barnard, baron of). He was born in Burgundy in 1658 : he was master
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of all the beauties of the Greek language: a very rare degree of merit in his time. We have some translations by him in verse of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, and Moschus: his tragedy of Medea, though unequally written, and too full of declamations, is far superior to that of Peter Corneille: but Corneille's Medea was written before he was at the height of his reputation. Longepierre composed several other tragedies upon the model of the Greek poets, whom he has happily imitated in not blending love with subjects of terror and cruelty; but at the same time he has copied them in the tediousness of their common places, and in the barrenness of action and intrigue, and not equalled them in beauty of elocution, which constitutes the greatest merit of a poet. Though he wrote several other tragedies in the Greek taste, he gave only Medea and Electra to the stage. He died in 1727.

De Longuerue (Lewis du Four) was born at Charleville in 1652: he was abbot of Jard. Besides knowing all the learned languages, he was master of all those spoken in Europe. A few years labour and application may be sufficient to attain a middling knowledge of several languages; but it is the labour of a whole life to speak one's own with purity and eloquence: he understood universal history; and it is said, that he composed the Historical and Geographical Description of ancient and modern France. He died about the year 1724.

Longueval (James) a Jesuit, was born in 1681: he composed eight volumes of the History of the Gallican church, which was afterwards continued by father Fontenay. He died in 1735.

De

De la Loubere (Simon) was born at Toulouse in 1642, and sent envoy to Siam in 1677: he has left us memoirs of that country, which are much better than his sonnets and odes. He died in 1729.

Mabillon (John) was born in Champagne in 1632: he was a Benedictine: he had the office of shewing the treasury of St. Denis, which he desired to resign, giving for his reason, "that he did not chuse to mix fables with truth." He made several very learned researches, and was employed by Colbert in enquiring into ancient titles. He died in 1707.

Maignan (Emanuel) was born at Toulouse in 1601: he was a Minime friar, and one of those who have learnt the mathematics without a master: he was a mathematical professor at Rome, where this professorship has ever since his time continued with the French Minims. He died at Toulouse in 1677.

Maillet. He was consul at Grand Cairo: there are some instructive letters of his, relating to Egypt, and some MS. pieces of bold philosophy.

Maimbourg (Lewis) a Jesuit, was born in 1610. There are some of his histories still read with pleasure: he was too much cried up at first, and too much neglected at last. It is very remarkable that he was obliged to quit the order for having wrote in favour of the clergy of France. He died at St. Victor in 1686.

Mainard (Francis) president of Aurillac, was born at Toulouse in 1634. He may be reckoned in the number of those who ushered in the age of Lewis XIV. There are several pieces of poetry of his remaining, all written with great ease

and purity: he is one of those authors who has made the greatest complaints of the ill fortune attending talents, not knowing that the success of a good work is of itself a sufficient recompence to an artist; that if princes and ministers make a merit of rewarding this kind of desert, there is still greater merit in waiting for their favours without asking; and that if a good writer is ambitious of an elevated fortune, he ought to be the architect of it himself.

Nothing is more commonly known than his beautiful sonnet addressed to cardinal de Richelieu, and that minister's harsh reply, the cruel monosyllable *rien* (nothing). The president Mainard, after he retired to Aurillac, made the following lines, which deserve to be as well known as his sonnet.

*Par votre humeur le monde est gouverné,
 Vos volontés font le calme & l'orage,
 Vous vous riez de me voir confiné
 Loin de la Cour dans mon petit ménage:
 Mais, n'est-ce rien que d'être tout à soi,
 De n'avoir point le fardeau d'un Emploi,
 D'avoir dompté la crainte & l'espérance?
 Ah! si le Ciel, qui me traite si bien,
 Avait pitié de vous & de la France,
 Votre bonheur serait égal au mien.*

To your caprice the willing world's resign'd;
 Both storm and calm your will and pleasure wait:
 You laugh to see me in a farm confin'd,
 And think me wretched in my humble fate.
 'Tis something still my freedom to enjoy;
 Nor groan beneath the weight of an employ;
 O'er

O'er fear and hope a conquest to obtain.
 Shou'd heav'n, whose rays on me propitious shine,
 To you and France shew mercy once again,
 Your happiness would one day equal mine.

After the death of the cardinal he says, in another piece, that the tyrant is dead, and yet he is not more happy. Had the cardinal been his benefactor, that minister would have been a God with him; but because he gave him nothing he was a tyrant. This is too much like those beggars who accost passengers with a "God bless your honour," and load them with curses afterwards, if they get no alms from them. Mainard's verses were very beautiful: but it would have redounded more to his credit, had he lived without asking or murmuring. The epitaph which he made for himself is in every one's mouth.

*Las d'espérer & de me plaindre,
 Des Muses, des Grands & du sort,
 C'est ici que j'attends la mort,
 Sans la désirer ni la craindre.*

Tir'd of complaints, of hope and faith,
 By fortune, friends, and muse forsaken,
 I wait unmov'd th' approach of death,
 Nor wish, nor fear to be mistaken.

The two last lines are a translation of the old Latin one,

Summum nec metuas diem nec optes.

Most beautiful verses are but translations. It is very common not to wish for death, very rare not to fear it; and it would have been very great

great not to have even thought that there were such things as great men in the world.

Maintenon (Francis d'Aubigné, Scarron, marchioness of). She is an author as well as madame de Sévigné, because her letters have been printed after her death. Both of these ladies wrote with a great deal of spirit, but of a very different kind. The letters of Madame de Sévigné are dictated by the heart and the imagination, and are more sprightly and free. Those of Madame de Maintenon, more constrained, and seem as if she had foreseen they would one day be made public. Madame de Sévigné, in writing to her daughter, wrote only for that daughter. There are several anecdotes to be found in both these collections. We may perceive in those of madame de Maintenon, that she was married to Lewis XIV. that she had considerable influence in state affairs, but that she did not direct them; that she did not hasten the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and its consequences, neither did she oppose it; that she sided with the Molinists at first, because Lewis XIV. did so, and that at length she became seriously attached to that party; that Lewis XIV. in the latter part of his life, used to carry relics about him; with several other private anecdotes. But the little knowledge that may be gained from this collection, is too dearly bought, by the number of useless letters it contains; a fault which is common to all collections of this kind. If nothing was to be printed but what is useful, there would not be, by an hundredth part, so many bad books. She died at St. Cyr in 1719.

Malebranche (Nicholas) of the Oratory, was born at Paris in 1638. He was one of the
deepest

deepest meditators that ever wrote. As he abounded with that forcible imagination which makes more disciples than truth, he had his like-wise in his time; there were those that went by the name of *Malebranchians*. He has admirably shewn the errors of the senses and imagination; but when he attempted to dive into the nature of the soul, he was lost in the abyss, as others had been before him. He was, like Descartes, a great man by whom very little was to be learnt. He died in 1715.

Malézieux (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1630. The duke of Burgundy's Elements of Geometry are the lessons that he gave to that prince. He raised himself a great reputation by his consummate knowledge in literature, and the dutchess of Maine made his fortune. He died in 1727.

Mailleville, (Claud de) one of the first members of the Academy. The single sonnet of the *Belle Matineuse*, made a famous man of him; whereas such a piece would be hardly thought worth speaking of now-a-days. But good productions in any kind were as rare then as they are since become common. He died in 1647.

De Marca (Peter) was born in 1594. Being left a widower with several children, he entered into the Church, and was nominated to the archbishopric of Paris. His book entitled *La Concorde de l'Empire & du Sacerdoce*, is much esteemed. He died in 1662.

De Marolles (Michael) was born at Touraine in 1600, and was son to the celebrated Claud de Marolles, captain of the guard of a hundred Swiss, so well known for having engaged in single combat with Marivaux, at the head of the

army of Henry IV. Michael, who was abbot of Villeloin, was author of sixty-nine works, of which several were translations, and very useful in their time. He died in 1681.

La Marre (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1641. He was commissary of the Châtelet : he was author of a piece suitable to his profession. The History of the police, which is of use only to the people of Paris, and is better to consult than to read. As a reward, he had a pension assigned him out of the profits of the stage, which he never received. They might as well have assigned the comedians a pension out of the wages of the city watch.

Du Marfais. No one better understood the metaphysical part of grammar than himself, nor made more profound researches into the principles of languages. His book of *Trepes* is insensibly become necessary, and the whole of what he has written concerning grammar deserves to be studied. He was one of those obscure philosophers with whom Paris abounds, who judge coolly and justly of every thing, living peaceably among themselves, and keep up a rational commerce with each other, unknown to the great, and dreaded by the quacks of all kinds, who seek to lord it over weak minds. The number of these wise men is a consequence of the spirit of the age. He died in 1755.

Marfollier (James) was born at Paris in 1657. He was one of the regular canons of St. Genevieve, and is known by several historical writings, which are well executed. He died in 1724.

Martignac (Stephen) was born in 1628. He was the first who made a sufferable prose translation of Virgil, Horace, &c. I question much whether

whether they can ever be happily rendered in verse ; for it is not enough to have their genius, the difference of the language is an insurmountable obstacle. He died in 1698.

Mascaron (Julius) of Marseilles, was born in 1634. He was bishop of Tulles, and afterwards of Agen. His Funeral Orations disputed the prize with those of Bossuet at first ; but now they serve only to shew how great a man the latter was. Mascaron died in 1703.

Massillon was born in Provence in 1663. He belonged to the Oratory, and was bishop of Clermont. No preacher had a better acquaintance with the world : he was more flowery and pleasing than Bourdalouë : his eloquence was that of the courtier, the academic, and the man of wit : and what is more, he was a philosopher, moderate in his opinion, and a friend to toleration. He died in 1742.

Maucroix (Francis) was born at Noyen in 1619. He was an historian, a poet, and a man of letters.

Menage (Giles), of Angers, was born in 1633. He has given an example, that it is much easier to write Italian verses than French : his Italian poetry is esteemed even in Italy itself, and our language is greatly indebted to his curious researches : he was an adept in more than one species of learning. He died in 1692.

Menetrier (Claud-Francis) was born in 1631. He has done great service to the art of heraldry, emblems, and devices : He died in 1705.

Meri (John) was born at Berry in 1645. He was one of the most eminent illustrators of surgery, and has left several very useful observations. He died in 1722.

Mezerai (Francis) was born at Argentan in Normandy in 1610. His history of France is very well known; his other writings not so much. He lost his pensions for saying what he thought was truth. In other respects, he was rather bold than exact, and his style is unequal. He died in 1683.

Mimeures (the marquis of). He was favourite to Monseigneur the Dauphin, son to Lewis XIV. There are some little detached pieces of poetry of his not at all inferior to those of Racine and Mainard: but as they appeared at a time when good writing was very scarce, and the marquis de Mimeures lived in an age when that art was brought to its perfection, they gained great reputation, and the marquis was hardly known: his ode to Venus, imitated from Horace, is not unworthy of the original.

Le Moine (Peter) a Jesuit. He was born in 1602: his *Devotion aisée* made him ridiculous; but he might have gained a great name by his *Louisiade*. He had a prodigious fund of imagination: how comes it then he did not succeed? Because he had neither taste nor a knowledge of the genius of his language, and wanted a rigid friend. He died in 1671.

Moliere (John-Baptiste) was born at Paris in 1620. He was the best comic poet that any nation ever produced. This article led me to read over the comic poets of antiquity; and it must be confessed, that if we compare the art and regularity of our stage with the loose and unconnected scenes of the ancients, their weak intrigues, and the indelicate custom of making their actors relate, in long, insipid, and improbable soliloquies, either what they had done, or
what

what they were going to do ; it must be confessed, I say, that Moliere drew comedy from its chaos, as Corneille did tragedy ; and that the French are superior, in this respect, to any nation under the sun. Moliere, again, had another kind of merit to what either Corneille, Racine, Boileau, or la Fontaine possessed : he was a philosopher, and such both in theory and practice ; and yet to this philosopher was it that Harlai, archbishop of Paris, so despised on account of his morals, denied the empty honour of sepulture ; and the king himself was obliged to intercede with that prelate to permit Moliere to be privately interred in the church-yard of the little chapel of St. Joseph, in the suburbs of Montmatre. He died in 1673.

The abbé *Mongaut*. The best translation of Cicero's Letters that we have is by him : it is enriched with judicious and useful notes. He had been preceptor to the son of the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom.

La Monnoye (Bernard) was born at Dijon, in 1641. He was an excellent literatist : he was the first who won the prize of poetry in the French academy, by his poem *du Duel abol*, which is, very few excepted, one of the best poetical performances that has been produced in France. He died in 1732.

Montesquieu (Charles), president of the parliament of Bourdeaux. He was born in 1689. At twenty-three years of age he published his *Persian Letters*, a comic work, abounding with strokes that shew an understanding more solid than his book. This work is an imitation of the *Siamese* of Du Freny and the *Turkish Spy* ; but such an imitation as shews how the originals

ought to have been written. These kind of performances seldom succeed but by the help of a foreign air ; and a satire upon our own nation is better received from the pen of an Asiatic than from that of a countryman, as what is common of itself, becomes by this means singular. The genius which reigns in the Persian Letters opened the doors of the French academy to the president Montesquieu, though that academy had itself been ill-treated in his book ; but, at the same time, the freedom with which he speaks of the government, and of abuses in religion, incurred the displeasure of cardinal Fleury, who ordered them to be shut against him again. He fell upon an artful method of making that minister his friend : in a few days time he caused a new edition of his book to be printed off, in which he retrenched or softened every thing that could appear exceptionable to him, either as a cardinal or a minister of state. Monsieur de Montesquieu then waited upon his eminence in person with his book, who, though not much accustomed to read, perused some part of it. This air of confidence, supported by the good offices of some persons of credit, won over the cardinal, and Montesquieu was admitted into the academy.

After this he published his treatise on the Greatness and Fall of the Roman People ; a worn-out subject, but which he made new by very ingenious reflections, and lively descriptions : so that it is a political history of the Roman empire. At length his Spirit of Laws made its appearance ; a work in which there appears much more genius than either in Puffendorf or Grotius. We cannot read these authors without doing ourselves some kind of violence ; but we read
read

read the Spirit of Laws as much for amusement as instruction. This book is wrote with as much freedom as the Persian Letters; and this freedom did not a little contribute to its success, by drawing upon him enemies, who increased his reputation by the hatred they brought upon themselves. These were a set of men, who, delighting in the obscure factions of ecclesiastical controversy, hold their own opinions as sacred, and those who despise them as impious and sacrilegious. They wrote with great acrimony against Montesquieu, and prevailed on the Sorbonne to examine his book; but the infamy and contempt with which his persecutors were loaded, prevented that college from proceeding any farther. The principal merit of the Spirit of Laws is that love for the laws that reigns throughout the whole work, which love is founded on that for mankind. What is most extraordinary is, that the encomiums he gives to the English government is what pleased most in France. The smart and stinging irony against the Inquisition, which is found in this work, charmed all the world, except the Inquisitors: his reflections, which are almost always profound, he supports by examples drawn from the history of all nations. It is true, that he has been reproached with taking his examples too frequently from inconsiderable savage nations, in a manner unknown, and upon the accounts of travellers, whose fidelity there is too much reason to suspect. He is not always very exact in his quotations: for instance, he makes the author of the Political Testament, ascribed to cardinal Richelieu, say, "That if there should be found among the people an honest man unfortunate, that man must not be employed;" whereas the

Political

Political Testament, in the place quoted, only says, that it is best to employ men of fortune and education, as the least liable to be corrupted. The continual want of method throughout this work, the singular affectation of putting no more than two or three lines in a chapter, and that frequently, and those lines nothing but a piece of pleasantry, has disgusted many readers, who complain of meeting sometimes with sallies of wit where they expected argument. This author is likewise reproached with having advanced too many doubtful ideas for certain ones; but if he does not always instruct his reader, he always set him a thinking, and that is no small degree of merit. His lively and ingenious manner of expression, in which we trace the imagination of his countryman Montaigne, has, above all, contributed to the great reputation of the Spirit of Laws: the same thing said by a man of equal, or even superior learning to him, would not have been read. In short, there is not any work in which there is more wit, and a greater number of learned ideas and bold things; or where a reader can find more opportunities for instruction, whether he approves or condemns his opinions. We may, with justice, rank this in the number of original works that were an ornament to the age of Lewis XIV. and which have no model in antiquity. He died in 1755, like a philosopher, as he had lived.

Montfaucon (Bernard) was born in 1655. He was a Benedictine, and one of the most learned antiquarians in Europe. He died in 1741.

Montpensier (Anna-Maria-Louisa of Orleans), known by the name of Mademoiselle. She was daughter to Gaston duke of Orleans, and was born

born at Paris in 1627. Her Memoirs are rather those of a woman full of herself, than a princess who had been witness to great events; but there are several things very curious. She died in 1693.

Montreuil (Matthew de). He is one of those pleasing and easy writers which the age of Lewis XIV. produced in great numbers, and who all succeeded in the middling way; but the spirit of the times, and imitation, have made many agreeable authors.

Moreri (Lewis) was born in Provence in 1643. It was little expected that the author of the Country of Love, and the translator of Rodriguez, would in his youthful days undertake the first Dictionary of Facts that had ever appeared. This laborious undertaking cost him his life. The work, which has been greatly improved and augmented, bears his name, but is no longer his. It is a new edifice, built upon the old plan. The many suspicious genealogies have greatly injured the character of this otherwise useful work. He died in 1680. There has been a supplement published which is full of errors.

Morin (Michael-John-Baptist) was born at Beaujolois in 1583. He was a physician, a mathematician, and through the prejudice of the times, an astrologer. He drew the horoscope of Lewis XIV. Notwithstanding his quackery, he was a man of learning. He died in 1656.

Morin (John) was born at Blois in 1391. He was very learned in the oriental languages, and in criticism. He died at the Oratory in 1659.

Morin (Simon) was born in Normandy in 1623. We mention him here only to deplore his fatal folly, and that of Saint-Sorlin Desmarets,
his

his accuser. Saint-Sorlin was a fanatic, who informed against another. Morin, who deserved only to be sent to a mad-house, was burnt alive in 1663, before philosophy had made sufficient progress to prevent learned men from dogmatizing, and judges from being cruel.

La Motte-Houdart (Anthony) was born at Paris in 1672. He was famous by his writings, and amiable in his manners: he had many friends, that is to say, people who were pleased with his company; but I was with him in his last moments, and saw him expire without a creature by his bed-side. This was in 1731.

The sole regard to truth obliges me here to transgress the usual bounds of these articles.

This man, who was so gentle in his manners, and who never gave any one, when living, the least subject of complaint, was, after his death, accused, almost in a judicial manner, of an enormous crime; no less than that of having been the author of those horrible couplets which proved the ruin of Rousseau in 1710; and of having, for several years, directed the whole scheme that occasioned the condemnation of an innocent man. This accusation comes with so much more weight, as being made by a person who was intimately acquainted with the affair, and who drew it up in the nature of a last will and testament. N. Boindin, attorney-general to the treasurers of France, when he died, in 1752, left behind him a very circumstantial memorial, in which, after a silence of forty years, he accuses *La Motte-Houdart* of the French academy, Joseph Saurin of the academy of Sciences, and one Malafaire a merchant, of framing this villainous design, and the chatelet and the parliament

ment of having successively awarded the most unjust sentences. But,

First, If N. Boindin was actually persuaded of the innocence of Rousseau; why did he delay so long to make it known? At least, why did he not publish it immediately after the death of his enemies; and why did he not present this memorial, which had lain written by him upwards of twenty years?

2dly, Is it not obvious, that Boindin's memorial is no other than a defamatory libel, and that this man entertained an equal hatred to every one whom he mentions in this information intended for posterity?

3dly, He sets out with facts which every one knows to be false. He pretends that the count de Nocé, and N. Melon, the regent's secretary, were associates with Malafaire, a petty jeweller-merchant. Every one who was acquainted with these people know this to be a flagrant calumny. He afterwards confounds N. la Faye, secretary of the king's closet, with his brother the captain of the guards. Lastly, how can a jeweller be supposed to have had a share in all this scheme of the couplets?

4thly, Boindin pretends that this jeweller, and Saurin the geometrician, joined with La Motte to prevent Rousseau from obtaining Boileau's pension, who was still living in 1710. Could it be possible for three persons of such different professions to join together, and meditate so deep a scheme, one so infamous in itself, and so difficult in its execution as that of depriving a citizen, then in obscurity, of a pension which was not even vacant, that Rousseau would never have had,

had, and to which neither of the three associates had any pretensions ?

5thly, After having agreed that Rousseau had written the five first couplets, which precede those that occasioned his disgrace, he makes La Motte-Houdart suspected as author of a dozen others in the same taste; and as the sole proof of this accusation, he says, that these twelve couplets, which were satires upon a like number of persons who used to meet at the house of N. Villiers, were brought by La Motte-Houdart himself to that gentleman's house, an hour after Rousseau had been informed that the persons in question were to meet there. Now, says he, Rousseau had not above an hour's time to compose and transcribe these defamatory verses. La Motte was the person who brought them to Villiers: therefore La Motte must be the author. On the contrary methinks, his openness in carrying them thither might be a presumption that he was not guilty of writing them. They were thrown at his door, as they were at those of several other persons: he opened the paper they were inclosed in, and found them full of the blackest invectives against all his friends, and himself likewise; upon which he immediately went and made the discovery. This has all the air of innocence.

6thly, It is necessary that those who interest themselves in this mystery of iniquity should be informed, that within little more than a month there had been a meeting of friends at the house of N. Villiers, most part of whom were the same persons that Rousseau had already abused in five satirical couplets, which he had imprudently repeated to different people. The very first of these

these twelve new couplets sufficiently shews, that the parties in question used to meet sometimes at the coffee-house, and sometimes at monsieur de Villiers.

*Sots assemblés chez de Villiers,
Parmi les sots troupe d'élite,
D'un vil caffè dignes piliers,
Craignez la fureur qui m'irrite.
Je vai vous poursuivre en tous lieux,
Vous noircir, vous rendre odieux.
Je veux que partout on vous chante;
Vous percer & rire à vos yeux
Est une douceur que m'enchanté.*

Ye fools, that grace the house of Villiers,
Imperial folly's chosen band,
Of a blind coffee-house the worthy pillars,
Revere and dread my chast'ning hand.
Your hated steps my vengeance shall pursue,
And drag your sully'd fame to public view.
You shall be stigmatiz'd in ev'ry part:
To laugh and ridicule your motley crew
Shall be the darling pleasure of my heart.

7thly, It is intirely false that the five first couplets, which were known to be Rousseau's, were only a slight piece of ridicule upon five or six private persons, as the memorialist asserts. There is the same malignity in them as in the others,

*Que le bourreau par son valet
Fasse un jour serier le sifflet
De Berrin & de sa sequelle;
Que Pecour qui fait le ballet
Ait le sauet au pied de l'échelle.*

May

May Ketch, by dint of hempen rope,
 The noisy pipe of Berrin stop,
 Of him and all his squawling train ;
 And many Pecour, who made the hop.
 Be flogg'd 'till he is dy'd in grain.

Such is the stile of the five first couplets owned by Rousseau, and certainly this is not very delicate raillery. It is exactly in the same stile with the others which followed.

8thly, As to the last couplets, to the same air that, in 1710, occasioned a prosecution to be brought against Saurin of the academy of sciences, the memorialist says nothing more than what the printed case informed us of long ago ; only he is of opinion, that the wretch who was sentenced to be banished, for having been suborned by Rousseau, ought to have been condemned to the gallies, if he had really given false testimony. In this, however, monsieur Boindin is mistaken ; for, in the first place, it would have been a ridiculous piece of injustice to have condemned the person suborned to the gallies, when only banishment was inflicted on the suborner : and in the second place, this unhappy wretch did not appear as the accuser of Saurin. Besides, he could not have been absolutely suborned ; for he gave in several contradictory declarations ; and the nature of his fault, and the weakness of his understanding, did not allow an exemplary punishment.

9thly, N. Boindin gives us expressly to understand in his memorial, that the family of Noailles and the Jesuits assisted to ruin Rousseau in this affair : and that Saurin employed all his credit and interest for that purpose. I myself know of
 a cer-

a certainty, and several persons now living know it as well as myself, that neither the Noailles's family, nor the Jesuits, solicited any such thing. As to interest, that was at first entirely on the side of Rousseau; for, notwithstanding that the general cry was against him, he had gained two secretaries of state, namely, monsieur de Pontchartrain and monsieur de Voisin, who were not at all intimidated by this cry. It was in consequence of their orders, in form of solicitations, that the lieutenant-criminal, Le Compte, caused Saurin to be seized and thrown into prison, interrogated, confronted, and cross-examined, and all within four and twenty hours. The chancellor reprimanded the lieutenant-criminal, for so precipitate and unprecedented a procedure.

As to the Jesuits, it is so far from being true that they declared themselves against Rousseau, that immediately after the contradictory sentence of the Chatêlet, by which he was unanimously condemned, he retired to the noviciate of the Jesuits, under the direction of father Sanadon, at the time he was appealing to the parliament. This retreat of his to the Jesuits proves two things; first, that they were not his enemies: and secondly, that he wanted to oppose the shew of religion to the accusation of libertinism brought against him. He had already written his best psalms; at the same time with his licentious epigrams, which he called the *Gloria Patri* to his psalms; upon which Danchet addressed him in the following lines:

*A te masquer habile,
Traduis tour à tour*

*Petrone à la ville,
David à la Cour, &c.*

In pious fraud so witty,
Translating for thy sport,
Petronius in the city,
And David's psalms at court.

It would not therefore, be in the least surprising, that having, like many others, put on the cloak of religion, while he continued to wear that of the cynic, he should have kept the first, which was now become absolutely necessary to him. We shall draw no consequence from this induction, as the heart of man is known to God alone.

10thly, It is of consequence to observe, during upwards of thirty years, that La Motte-Houdart, Saurin, and Malafaire, lived after this prosecution, not one of them was ever suspected of the least wicked scheme, or the slightest satire. La Motte-Houdart never so much as made any reply to the black invectives contained in the Calotes, and other lampoons under different titles, with which one or two men, who were detested by all the world, loaded him for a long time. He never disgraced his talents by satire; and when in 1709, after having been perpetually insulted by Rousseau, he made this beautiful ode:

*On ne se choisit point son père ;
Par un reproche populaire
Le sage n'est point abatu.
Où, quoi que le vulgaire pense
Rousseau, la plus vile naissance
Donne du lustre à la vertu, &c.*

The son his parent does not chuse:
 By groundless clamour and abuse,
 The wife will never be dejected.
 Whate'er the vulgar may opine,
 Rousseau, the meanest birth will shine,
 By sacred virtue's rays reflected.

When he wrote this piece, I say, it was rather as a lesson of morality and philosophy than a satire. He therein exhorts Rousseau, who denied his father, not to be ashamed of his birth, and advises him to get the better of the spirit of envy and satire. Nothing can be more unlike that rage which breathes in the couplets of which he is accused.

But Rousseau, after his condemnation, which should have made him more prudent, whether he had been innocent or culpable, could not get the better of his inclination. He frequently abused those very persons in epigrams whom he had attacked in his couplets, namely, La Faye, Danchet, La Motte Houdart, &c. He made verses against his old and new protectors, some of which are to be found in those letters of his, which so ill deserved to be made public; and most part of these verses are in the same stile as the couplets, for which he was condemned by the parliament, witness the following against that illustrious musician Rameau.

*Distillateurs d'accords baroques,
 Dont tant d'idiots son ferus,
 Chez les Thraces & les Iroques
 Portez vos Opera bourrus, &c.*

Ye that distil discordant strains,
 So grateful to an idiot ear,
 Among the savage Indian swains,
 Your inharmonious concerts bear.

Others in the same taste are to be found in the collection entitled, Rousseau's Pocket-book, against the abbé d'Olivet, who had formed a scheme to have him recalled home. In short, even in the latter part of his life, when he came to hide himself in Paris under the mask of devotion, he could not forbear still making these abusive epigrams. It is true, that age had impaired his stile, but without reforming his disposition, either because by an unaccountable medley of opinions, not uncommon among men, he made this heinous spirit of abuse a part of his devotion, or that by a wickedness no less common, this devotion was only hypocrisy.

11thly, If Saurin, La Motte, and Malafaire had really plotted the crime of which they were accused, these three men having been afterwards upon very different terms with each other, it is hardly possible but some part of their guilt must have transpired. This reflection, indeed, is not a proof; but, added to other circumstances, it carries great weight.

12thly, If a fellow so rude and artless as that William Arnold, who was condemned as a witness suborned by Rousseau, had not been actually guilty, he would have declared his innocence; he would have published it aloud all his life, and to all the world. I knew the man: his mother was a kitchen maid in my father's family, as is said in Saurin's factum; and both his mother and himself have acknowledged several

veral times in my presence that he had been justly sentenced. But why then, after two and forty years, and just as he was about to die, should N. Boindin have left this strongly attested accusation against three persons who were no longer living? The reason is this: he had drawn up this memorial above twenty years before; that is to say, Boindin had entertained a hatred to all three; that he could never forgive La Motte Houdart for not soliciting a seat for him in the French academy, and for having candidly declared to him, that the public profession he made of atheism would prevent his being received. He had had a dispute with Saurin, who was like himself, of an arrogant and inflexible disposition, and also with Malafaire, a rough and unpolished man, and was at enmity with Legeret de la Faye, on account of the following epigram which he had made upon him.

*Oui, Vadius, on connait votre esprit,
Savoir s'y jonit, & quand le cas arrive,
Qu'œuvre parait par quelque coin fautive,
Plus aigrement qui jamais la reprit ?
Mais on ne voit qu'en vous aussi se montre
L'art de louer le beau qui s'y rencontre,
Dont cependant maints beaux esprit font cas.
De vos pareils que voulez-vous qu'on pense ?
Eh quoi, qu'ils sont connoisseurs delicats ?
Pas n'en voudrais tirer la consequence,
Mais bien qu'ils sont gens à fuir de cent pas.*

Yes, Vadius, that your wit is clear,
And learning solid I must own,
And should some faulty work appear,
In finding flaws you yield to none:

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But

But still with all your sense and spirit,
 You want the art of praising merit,
 Which every critic should inherit.
 Of such as you what shall I say?
 *That they are connoisseurs immense;
 But (take this caution by the way,)
 I'd shun them like the pestilence.

This was in fact Boindin's true character, and it is he who is described in the Temple of Taste, under the name of Bardou. In his memorial he was the dupe to his hatred. He was a man incapable of saying what he did not think, and equally incapable of altering any opinion wherewith his humour inspired him. In his morals he was irreproachable, in his life the strict philosopher; he did many generous actions; but that morose and unsociable humour of his, inspired him with prepossessions which he could never overcome.

The whole of this fatal affair, the consequences of which lasted so long, and with which no man is better acquainted than myself, took its rise from the innocent amusement which several persons of merit took in meeting together at a coffee-house, where they did not always pay a proper regard to the principal law of society, not to offend each other. Some severe criticisms passed mutually between them: and what was at first only a breach of politeness, gave birth to lasting animosity, and the perpetration of crimes. The reader now is left to judge whether there were three guilty persons in this affair, or only one.

It is probable that Saurin might have been the author of the last couplets ascribed to Rousseau.

seau. It is probable likewise, that Rousseau having been found guilty of writing the five first, Saurin might have made the others, in order to ruin him; notwithstanding there was no rivalship between them: but there is not the least reason to charge La Motte with it. The intent of this article is purely to vindicate La Motte, whom I believe innocent. After all, it would be very difficult to determine which of the two, Saurin or Rousseau was guilty; but La Motte certainly was not.

De Motteville (Frances Bertaut) was born in Normandy in 1615. This lady has written some memoirs, which relate particularly to queen Anne, mother to Lewis XIV. in which we meet with several little facts written with great appearance of truth: she died in 1689.

Le Nain de Tillemont (Sebastian) son to John Le Nain, master of requests, was born at Paris in 1637. He was bred up under Nicole, and was one of the most learned writers of Port-Royal. His History of the Emperors, and his Ecclesiastical History, in sixteen volumes, are written with as much veracity as can be found in complications from ancient historians; for history before the invention of printing, being liable to very little contradiction, was consequently not very exact: he died in 1698.

Nudé (Gabriel) was born at Paris in 1690: he was a physician and a philosopher; but more of the latter than the former. He at first attached himself to cardinal Barberini at Rome, then to cardinal de Richelieu, cardinal Mazarin, after that to queen Christina, to whose court he sometimes went to increase the number of

learned men there ; and last of all he retired to Abbeville, where he died as soon as he became at liberty. Of all his writings his Apology for the Great Men accused of Magic, is the only one remaining. A much larger volume might be made of Great Men accused of Atheism, since the time of Socrates.

—————*Populus nam solos credit habendos.
Esse deos quos ipse colit.*

He died in 1653.

Nemours (Mary de Longueville, dutchess of) was born in 1625. There are memoirs of hers, in which we meet with some particulars relating to the unhappy times of the Fronde : she died in 1707.

Nevers (Philip, duke of). There are some poetical pieces of his writing, in a very singular taste. We must not judge of them by the sonnet thus turned by Racine and Despreaux :

*Dans un palais doré Nevers jaloux & blême
Fait des vers où jamais personne n'entend rien :*

In palace gilt, Nevers, so jealous and commanding,
Writes verses that surpass all human understanding.

For his verses are both very unintelligible and very pleasing, witness the following ones on Rance, the famous reformer of La Trappe, who had written against archbishop Fenelon.

*Cet Abbé qu'on croyait paitri de sainteté,
 Vieilli dans la 'retraite & dans humilité,
 Orgueilleux de ses croix, bouffi de sa souffrance,
 Rompt ses sacrés statuts en rampant le silence,
 Et contre un saint Prélat s'animant aujourd'hui
 Du fond de ses deserts déclame cont re lui,
 Et moins humble de cœur que fier de sa doctrine.
 Il ose décider ce que Rome examine.*

That Abbé deemed so humble and so holy,
 Grown old in cell and pious melancholy,
 Proud of his cross, elated with his yoke,
 His sacred vows, at length, and silence broke ;
 Now 'gainst a blameless prelate he declaims,
 And from his cloister poison'd arrows aims ;
 Less meek of heart than flushed with learning's
 pride.

While Rome yet doubts, he ventures to decide.

His genius and talents are revived with improvement in his grandson : he died in 1707.

Niteron (John Peter) a Barnabite monk, was born at Paris in 1685. He was author of the *Memoirs of Illustrious Persons in Literature*. All his characters are not illustrious : but he speaks of each in a suitable manner, and does not call a goldsmith a great man. He deserves a place among the useful literati : he died in 1738.

Nicole (Peter) was born at Chartres in 1625 : he was one of the best writers in Port-Royal. What he has written against the Jesuits is no longer read ; but his moral essays, which are of service to mankind, will never be forgotten. That chapter in particular which treats on the

means of preserving peace in society, is a masterpiece unequalled by any thing of the kind among the ancients : but this peace is as difficult to be established as the political one of the abbé de St. Pierre : he died in 1695.

D'Orleans, (Joseph) a Jesuit. The first who made choice of the revolutions of states, as the only subject of history. Those of England he has written in an elegant stile ; but after the reign of Henry VIII. he is rather eloquent than faithful : he died in 1698.

Ozanam (James) a Jew by extraction, was born at Dombes in 1640 : he learned geometry without the help of a master at fifteen years of age. He is the first who compiled a Mathematical Dictionary. His Mathematical Amusements have still a great sale : he died in 1717.

Pagi, (Anthony) a Franciscan, was born in Provence in 1624. He corrected Baronius, for which he had a pension from the clergy : he died in 1699.

Papin (Isaac) was born at Blois in 1659 : he was a Calvinist ; but having quitted that religion he wrote against it : he died in 1709.

Pardies (Ignatius Gaston) a Jesuit, born at Paris in 1638, known to the world by his Elements of Geometry, and his tract upon the Souls of Brutes. To pretend, with Descartes, that animals are mere machines, without sensation, though furnished with proper organs, is directly to contradict reason and experience. On the other hand, to say they have souls, properly so called, is saying what cannot be proved : but to say they are endued with memory and
sen-

sentation, though the manner of their operation cannot be explained, would be speaking like a man of judgment, who knows that it is better to be ignorant than to err; for what work of nature is there with whose first principles we are acquainted: he died in 1673.

Parent (Anthony) born at Paris in 1666: he was a good mathematician, though he never had been taught by any master: but what is still more remarkable, he lived a long time at Paris independent and happy upon less than two hundred livres a year: he died in 1716.

Pascal (Blaise). His father was the first intendant that was appointed at Rouen: he was born in 1623, and was a great genius, of the superiority of which he thought of availing himself, in the same manner as kings of their power, that is, to bring every thing in subjection to him by main force. What in his *Thoughts* most disgusts some readers is the contemptuous, authorative air he assumes; but he ought first to have been sure he had reason on his side. It must be owned that he contributed much to the improvement of our language and eloquence. His enemies and those of *Arnauld* found means to prevent any notice being taken of either in *Perrault's* book on *Illustrious Men*. This gave occasion to the quoting and applying to them that passage of *Tacitus*: *Præfulgebant Cassius & Brutus eo ipso quod eorum effigies non visebantur*: he died in 1662.

Patin (Gui) born at Houdan in 1601: he was a physician; but is better known by his *Letters*, which are full of slander and abuse, than by his skill as a physician. These *Letters* have been much read, on account of the anecdotes,

fatire, and secret history in them, with which mankind in general are extremely delighted. It evidently appears from him how little contemporary authors, who write the news of the day, can be depended upon as guides by an historian: for that news is often found to be false, or misrepresented through malice; besides, all these little anecdotes cannot afford much entertainment, except to little minds: he died in 1693.

Patin (Charles) born at Paris in 1633. was the son of Gui. His works are read by the learned, and his father's Letters are by the idle and trifling. Charles was a very learned antiquarian: but he left France, and died professor of medicine at Padua in 1693.

Patrou (Oliver) born at Paris in 1604. He is the first in whose pleadings we find any thing like purity of language. In his last illness, Lewis XIV. ordered him some money, being informed he was but poor: he died in 1681.

Pavillon (Stephen) born at Paris in 1632: he was attorney-general of the parliament of Metz, and writ some pretty pieces of poetry: he died in 1705.

Pelisson Fontanier (Paul) a Calvinist, born at Beziers in 1624. He was confidant and secretary to the superintendant Fouquet; was a very indifferent poet indeed, but very learned and eloquent. In 1661, he was confined in the Bastile for his fidelity to his master, where he continued four years and a half. After his discharge he passed the remainder of his life in writing the most fulsome encomiums on the king, who had deprived him of his liberty. It is only in absolute monarchies where such an ab-
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ject servility and baseness is to be found. More a coustier than a philosopher, he quitted the religion in which he was educated, in order to make his fortune, in which he succeeded; for he rose to be comptroller of accounts, master of requests, and abbé, and had a commission to employ the third of the money granted to engage the Huguenots to follow his example in renouncing their religion. His History of the Academy is much admired: but he writ a great many other things besides that, as Prayers during Mass, a Piece upon the Eucharist, Pieces on Love and Gallantry, and love verses in abundance to Olimpe, by whom was meant mademoiselle des Vieux, who, it is said, was married to the celebrated Bossuet, before he took orders. But the performances that have done most honour to Pellisson are his excellent Discourses concerning M. Fouquet, and his History of the Conquests of Franche-Compte. The Protestants pretend, that he died in a state of indifference as to all religions, the contrary of which is asserted by the Catholics: his death happened in 1693.

Perrault (Claud) born at Paris in 1613: he was a physician, but prescribed only for his friends. Without the assistance of any master, he became a great proficient in all the arts that have any dependence on design, and in mechanics. He was a good naturalist, and a great architect. He encouraged the arts under Colbert, their patron; and gained a reputation, in spite of Boileau: he died in 1688.

Perrault (Charles) born in 1626, brother of Claud, being comptroller-general of the buildings under Colbert, he brought the Academies

of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, into form and order. He was an encourager of men of letters, who made their court to him during the life of his protector, but afterwards abandoned him. He hath been charged with prejudice and injustice, with regard to the Antients; but his great fault is the criticising them improperly, and without judgment, and making enemies of those who could have defended his cause. The dispute hath been, and will be a long time, a party-affair, as it was in Horace's days. How many are there in Italy, who, though they cannot read Homer with any pleasure, but are in raptures when they read Tasso or Ariosto; yet cry up the former as inimitable! he died in 1708.

Petau (Denys) born at Orleans in 1583, a Jesuit. To him we are indebted for some corrections in chronology; he writ no less than seventy different pieces, and died in 1652.

Petit de la Croix (Francis.) He was one of those whose merit the great Colbert encouraged and rewarded. At the age of seventeen he was sent by Lewis XIV. to Turkey and Persia, to learn the Oriental languages; and what will appear a little extraordinary, he writ a part of the life of Lewis in Arabic, which is read and esteemed in the East: he writ besides, the History of Gengis-can and Tamerlane, compiled from ancient Arabian authors; and many other valuable tracts. But of all his performances, his translation of A Thousand and one Days is the most read.

*L'homme est de glace aux vérités,
Il est ne feu pour le mensonge.*

Man-

Mankind to truth are cold as ice ;
But soon take fire at lies and fiction.

He died in 1687.

Petit (Peter) born at Paris in 1617 : he was a man of learning and a philosopher ; his works are in Latin : he died in 1687.

Perron (Paul) born in Brittany in 1639 : he was a great antiquarian, as appears from his tract on the origin of the Celtic language : he died in 1706.

Du Pin (Lewis) born in 1637, a doctor of the Sorbonne : he got much reputation, and some enemies by his *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques* : he died in 1719.

La Placette (John) born in 1639, at Bearn : he was a Protestant, and preacher in Holland, and at Copenhagen : he is the author of several works that are esteemed : he departed this life in 1718, at Utrecht.

De Polignac (Melchoir) cardinal, born at Velay in 1662 ; as good a Latin poet as it is possible for one that now writes in that language to be. In his own, he was very eloquent. It appears from his choice, as well as that of others, that it is easier to write in Latin verse than in French. Unhappily for him, while he opposed Lucretius, he opposed Newton : he died in 1741.

Porée (Charles) born in Normandy in 1675, a Jesuit. One of the few professors that have been known to and admired by the world in general : his eloquence resembles that of Seneca : he was a poet and a wit ; but his chief excellence and merit was making learning and virtue appear amiable to his pupils : he died in 1741.

Du Pui (Peter): the son of Claud de Pui, counsellor of parliament, and a very learned man, was born in 1583. His learning was an advantage to the state; for he was at great pains in searching and collecting charters, and other vouchers of the king's rights and prerogatives over several states. He cleared up the Salic law as much as it is possible to do it, and shewed that the Gallican church has the justest title to the liberties it claims, which, notwithstanding, are but a part of the privileges of the ancient churches. It appears from his History of the Knights Templars, that some individuals of the order indeed were culpable; but that the condemning of the whole order, and the punishment of so many knights, were acts of the most flagrant injustice: he died in 1652.

De Puisegur (the marshal). He hath left us an Art of War, just as Boileau hath an Art of Poetry.

Quenel (Paquier) born in 1634, of the Oratory: he was unhappy in this, that he gave occasion to a great division among his countrymen: he lived in poverty and exile: his manners were severe, as those of men wholly engaged in controversy generally are. Thirty pages in his book changed or softened, would have spared his country much dispute, and animosity; but then he would not have made so much noise: he died in 1719.

Le Quien (Michael) was born in 1691: a Dominican, and very learned. He took a great deal of pains in writing on the eastern church, and that of England. In particular, he entered the lists against Courayer concerning the validity

validity of ordination by English bishops. But the English regard these controversies no more than the Turks do such as concern the Greek church. He died in 1703.

Quinault (Philip) born at Paris in 1635: he was auditor of accompts, and writ some very beautiful pieces of Lyric poetry, notwithstanding Boileau's satire, which he bore with a great deal of good nature. *Quinault* was much superior in his way to *Lully*. The former will always be read, whereas the latter, setting aside his recitative, cannot even be sung: yet in his own time he was supposed to be indebted to *Lully* for his reputation: but time tries all things. He partook, like many other great men, of the bounty of Lewis XIV. He died in 1718.

Quincy (The marquis de) lieutenant-general of the artillery, and author of the Military History of Lewis XIV. He is very minute in his details, which may be useful to those that have patience to follow him through the operations of a campaign. Could exactly the same situations be supposed to exist, they would furnish good examples, but that is never the case, neither in business nor war. The difference is always great, and the resemblance imperfect. The conduct of war, like a game in which skill is requisite, is only to be learned by practice and service, and yet the event of a battle, like that of a game of hazard, is often determined by chance.

La Quintinie (John) born at Poitiers in 1626: he may be said to be the inventor of the art of cultivating gardens, and transplanting trees. His merit was amply rewarded by Lewis XIV.
and

and all Europe now follows his precepts. He died in

Racine (John) born at Ferte-Milon in 1639, and educated at Port-Royal. When he writ the tragedy of *Theagenes*, and presented it to Moliere, and that of the *Freres Ennemis*, with the subject of which Moliere furnished him, he was an ecclesiastic. In the patent to *Andromache*, he is stiled prior of Epinal. Lewis XIV. was not insensible to his great merit. He made him a gentleman in ordinary, nominated him sometimes of his retinue when he went to Marli, made him lie in his apartment once during a fit of sickness, besides many other valuable marks of his favour: yet Racine died of chagrin, from an apprehension of his having incurred his displeasure; by which it appears that he was a greater poet than philosopher. The merit of his works was not ascertained till of late. *Mariamne*, says St. Evremont, *Sophonisba*, *Alcinoe*, *Andromache*, and *Britannicus* are affecting pieces. Thus was not only Corneille's *Sophonisba*, a sorry performance, but the absurd *Mariamne* and *Alcinoe* set on a level with the other master-pieces. Thus is gold confounded with trash during the lives of ingenious men, but death separates them. He died in 1699.

Rancé (Jean de Bouthillier) born in 1626: his first performance was the translation of *Anacreon*, and in 1664, he instituted the terrible reform of La Trappe. As legislator he dispensed himself with the observation of that law, which obliged those that are confined to that dismal place, to be absolute strangers to what passes in the world. He was an eloquent writer.

writer. But, strange inconstancy ! after he had instituted the above society, and been its governor or superior, he laid down the office, but afterwards would have resumed it. He died in 1700.

Rapin (René) born at Tours in 1621: a Jesuit. He is well known by the poem called the Garden, in Latin, and many other learned pieces. He died in 1687.

Rapin de Thoiras (Paul) born at Castres in 1661: he was a refugee in England, and a long time an officer. The English are indebted to him for the only good and impartial history they have: for their own historians write all in the spirit of party. He died at Wesel in 1726.

Regis (Sylvan) born in Agenois in 1632: his philosophical works are no longer regarded, in consequence of the many discoveries and improvements that have been made since he wrote. He died in 1707.

Regnard (Francis) both at Paris in 1647: his travels alone were sufficient to render him famous. He was the first Frenchman that visited Lapland, where he left this inscription cut out upon a rock: *Sistimus hic tandem nobis ubi defuit orbis*, i. e. I am got at last to the extremity of the world. He was taken in the Mediterranean by a corsair, and carried to Algiers, but was afterwards ransomed and made treasurer of France, and lieutenant of the waters and forests. He was a man of pleasure and a philosopher; his genius was sprightly, and truly comic. His comedy called the *Joueur*, or Gamester, is thought not inferior to those of Moliere. One must be a great stranger to the genius of the two authors, to suppose that he stole that piece from

from Dufreni. He dedicated his *Menechmes* to Despreaux, and afterwards writ against him, because he had not done him justice. Notwithstanding the gaiety of his temper, he died of chagrin at the age of 52. It hath even been said, that he cut short the thread of his days himself. He made his exit in 1658.

Regnier Desmarets, (Seraphin) born at Paris in 1632: he improved our language much, and writ some some pieces of poetry in French and Italian. He made one of his Italian pieces pass for a work of Petrarch's, but could not have made his French verses pass for those of a great poet. He took his leave of the world in 1713.

Renaudot (Theophrastus) a physician, and very learned in more respects than one. He was the first writer of Gazettes in France, and died in 1679.

Renaudot (Eusebius) born in 1646: very learned in the oriental languages and in History. But he deserves to be blamed for not allowing Bayle's Dictionary to printed in France. He died in 1720.

Richelet (Cæsar Peter) the first who composed a dictionary almost entirely of satire, in which he set an example more dangerous than useful.

Du Rier (Andrew) a gentleman in ordinary of the king's chamber. He was a long time at Constantinople, and in Egypt, in a public employment. We have a translation by him of the Alcoran, and the history of Persia.

Du Rier (Peter) born at Paris in 1605: he was secretary to the king, and historiographer of France, but poor notwithstanding. He was the author of nineteen plays and thirteen translations, all which were well received by his contemporaries. He died in 1658. *Le*

Le Rochefoucault (Francis, duke de) born in 1613: his memoirs are read, but his thoughts are not only read, but got by heart. He died in 1680.

Rohault (James) born at Amiens in 1620: he abridged and explained in a clear and methodical manner Descartes's philosophical works. But all that can be said for that great man's philosophy at present is, that it exploded ancient errors, and substituted others in their places. He died in 1675.

Rollin (Charles) born at Paris in 1661, rector of the university, and the first of that body who writ French with purity and dignity. The last volumes of his *Ancient History* are not equal to the first, as being composed in much greater haste; yet it is one of the best compilations extant in any language, because Rollin was a master of eloquence, which few compilers are. Had he been also a philosopher, it would have greatly enhanced the value of his work. There are a number of ancient histories; but in none of them do we find that philosophical sagacity that distinguishes between truth and falsehood, between probability and fable, or fiction, and suppresses what is useless and frivolous. He died in 1741.

Rotrou (John) born in 1609: the founder of the theatre. The first scene, and a part of the fourth act of *Venceslas*, are master-pieces. Corneille used to call him his father; but every one will agree that the son greatly surpassed the father. *Venceslas* was not written till after the *Cid*. He died in 1650.

Rousseau (John Baptist) born at Paris in 1669. Fine verses, great errors in conduct, and great suffer-

sufferings, have conspired to render him famous. We must either suppose him the author of the verses that occasioned his banishment, which, by the bye, are not unlike many that he avowed, or throw a slur upon the two tribunals that condemned him. It is not indeed the first time that two tribunals, and even more numerous bodies, have, with one voice, pronounced very unjust sentences, when party-spirit runs high. Thus much is certain, that the party against Rousseau were full of rancour and resentment. Few men have ever been more universally hated and persecuted. Nothing less would satisfy the public than his banishment; nay, their aversion continued unabated several years after. But at last the success of his rival la Motte, the reception he met with, the reputation which, as they thought, he had unjustly and unfairly acquired, and the artifice by which he had raised himself to a sort of empire in literature, made all the men of letters forsake him, and declare for Rousseau, whom they now no longer dreaded. By their means the public in general was reconciled to him. La Motte now began to appear to them too happy, because he was rich and in vogue, not considering that he was blind, and laboured under many infirmities and disorders. On the contrary, Rousseau was viewed in the light of an unhappy exile: and to live at Vienna or Brussels was thought a greater misfortune than to be blind and infirm. But indeed both were very unhappy: only the one was the victim of nature, the other of the unlucky adventure that occasioned his banishment. Both may serve to shew what partiality and injustice men are capable of, how much they vary in their
judg-

judgments, and what folly it is to hunt after popular applause. He died at Bruffels in 1740. See the article *La Motte*.

De La Rue (Charles) born in 1643, a Jesuit, Latin and French poet, and preacher; he was one of those that writ notes upon the classics, for the use of the dauphin. Virgil was the author that fell to his lot. He died in 1725.

Ruinard (Thierri) a Benedictine: he was a laborious critic: He maintained, in opposition to Dodwell, that there was an infinite number of martyrs in the primitive church. Perhaps he did not carefully enough distinguish between martyrdom and natural death, between persecutions on a religious and civil account. However that be, he must be ranked among the learned men of the age, in which the Benedictines have greatly distinguished themselves by the most profound reasoning, as Martene, for instance, upon the ancient rites of the church. Tuilier and others have entirely dispelled that cloud that long hung over the history and antiquities of the dark ages, especially with regard to the church. This was a species of study that was unknown till the Age of Lewis XIV. and in France only were the Benedictines celebrated for it. He died in 1707.

De la Sabliere (Anthony de Rambouillet). His Madrigals are wrote with an elegant simplicity. He died in 1680.

Sacy le Maitre (Lewis Isaac) born in 1613. One of the good writers of Port-Royal. The Royaumont Bible is by him, and a translation of Terence's comedies: he died in 1684. His brother, Anthony le Maitre, retired also to Port-

Port-Royal : he had been a counsellor at law, and was accounted very eloquent ; but the opinion of the public changed upon reading his pleading, which he had the vanity to publish. Another gentleman of the long robe, named Sacy, but not of the same family, and a member of the French academy, published a translation of Pliny's Letters in 1701, that were well received by the public.

Le Sage, born in 1667 : his romance of *Gil Blas* still keeps its ground, because it is natural : he died in 1747.

Saint Aulaire, (Francis Joseph de Beau-poil, marquis de.) It is something very remarkable, that the finest of his verses were composed when he was turned of ninety. Like the marquis de la Fare, he did not begin to exercise his talents for poetry till he was past sixty. Among the first verses he published were the following, which were ascribed to la Fare.

*O muse le légère & facile,
Qui sur le coteau d'Helicon
Vintes offrir au vieil Anacréon
Cete art charmant, cet art utile,
Qui fait rendre douce & tranquile
La plus incommode saison ;
Vous qui de tant de fleurs sur le Parnasse écloses
Ormez à ses cotés les graces & les ris
Et qui cachez ses cheveux gris
Sous tant de couronnes de roses, &c.*

O muse ! indulgent and heart-easing,
Who on the hill of Helicon,
Confer'd on old Anacreon,
That art so useful and so pleasing,

That,

That, ev'n in winter's hoary reign,
 With pleasure beautifies the scene.
 You, who with flow'rs on fair Parnassus grow-
 ing,
 Adorn'd the Graces in his train,
 And hid his locks of silver grain.
 With wreaths of roses ever blowing.

It was this performance that procured him a seat in the academy, tho' Boileau alledged it as the reason why he could not agree to his being admitted: he died in 1742, near an hundred years old, some say an hundred and two. Once being at supper with the dutchess of Maine, when he was above eighty years old, she called him Apollo, and desired to know some secret or other: his answer was,

*La divinité qui s'amuse
 A me demander mon secret,
 Si j' étais Apollo, ne ferait point ma muse :
 Elle ferait Thetis, & le jour finirait.*

The goddess who my youth renews,
 And would my secret comprehend,
 Where I Apollo, should not be my muse;
 She should be Thetis, and the day should end.

Anacreon, though younger, did not write such pretty things. If the Greeks had had such writers as our good ones, their vanity would have been still greater than it was, and we should have had more reason to admire them than we have.

Saint Marthe. This family, for the space of an hundred years and upwards, hath been fruitful

ful in good writers. The first Charles Gaucher de Sainte Marthe was an eloquent man for his time: he died in 1555.

Scevola, nephew of Charles, distinguished himself both by his learning and his exploits. It was he that reduced Poitiers to the obedience of Henry IV. he died at Loudun in 1623, and the famous Urban Grandier pronounced his funeral oration.

Abel de Sainte Marthe, his son, was also a lover of learning, and died in 1652; and his son, who was likewise named Abel, trod in the steps of his father and grandfather, and died in 1706.

Scevola and *Lewis de Sainte Marthe*, twin-brothers, and sons of *Scevola*. They were both eminent for their learning, and were buried in the same tomb at Paris, at St. Severin's. They composed together the *Gallia Christiana*.

Denys de St. Marthe, their brother, concluded that work, and died at Paris in 1725.

Peter Scevola de Sainte Marthe, the eldest brother of the last *Scevola*, was historiographer of France, and died in 1690.

St. Evremont (Charles) born in Normandy in 1613. Loose morals, letters writ to courtiers, at a time when the word *court* was pronounced with an emphasis every where, indifferent verses composed in illustrious societies, and for that reason called Society Verses, all these concurred with a good deal of spirit, to raise the reputation of his works. They were printed by one des Maizeux, together with the life of the author, which alone makes one large volume. and yet in the whole there are not four pages that are interesting. It contains scarce any thing but what is to be found in his works. It

was

was an imposition of the booksellers and editors. By such artifices a way hath been found to multiply books *in infinitum*, and without adding any thing to the knowledge of mankind. His exile, his philosophy, and works, are well known. When he was asked, on his death-bed, if he would be reconciled to the church? his answer was, "I wish I could be reconciled to my appetite." He died in 1703, and was interred at Westminster, with the kings and illustrious men of England.

Saint Pavin (Denys Languin de). He was one of those good authors whom Despreaux, in his Satires, confounded with the bad. What little he writes is esteemed for its elegance and delicacy. As for his personal merit, we may judge of it by the epitaph which Fieubet, master of requests, and one of the politest gentlemen of the age, made for him.

*Sous ce tombeau git Saint-Pavin :
 Donne des larmes à sa fin.
 Tu fus de ses amis peut-être ?
 Pleure ton sort & le sien :
 Tu n'en fus pas ? pleur le tien,
 Passant, d'avoir manque d'en être.*

Here St. Pavin in mould'ring dust is laid,
 O'er his cold grave a tear in pity shed.
 Among his friends, perhaps, thy name was
 told :

If so, his fate and thine bemoan :
 But if it was not, weep thy own,
 That in the happy band thou never wast en-
 roll'd.

L'Ab-

L'Abbé de Saint Pierre (Castel), a gentleman of Normandy, who, though his income was not great, yet, for some time, shared it with the celebrated Fontenelle and Varignon: he writ a great deal on politics. There is no better character of his works in general, than that given by the cardinal de Bois, *viz.* that they were the reveries of a good subject: he was simple enough to inculcate often in his works the most trivial moral truths, and to propose for the most part things impracticable: he was continually harping on the scheme of a perpetual peace, and a sort of universal parliament, which he called the diet of Europe. Part of this chimerical project had been attributed to Henry IV. and the abbé de St. Pierre, the better to recommend his notions, pretended that the European diet had been planned and approved of by the dauphin, duke of Burgundy, and that the scheme was found among his papers after his death. But it was a mere fiction of his own, to make his project be the better relished. He honestly published the answer that cardinal Fleury made to his proposal: "You have forgot, monsieur, says the cardinal, to propose in the first place to send a company of missionaries to prepare and dispose the hearts of the several princes." Yet, notwithstanding all this, the abbé de St. Pierre did a deal of good. He contributed not a little to deliver France from the hardships of the arbitrary land-tax: with respect to that, and that alone, he writ and acted like a statesman. He was unanimously excluded the French academy, because he had, during the regency of the duke of Orleans, a little too harshly opposed in his *Polymodie* the establishment of councils to the method of

of governing adopted by Lewis XIV. the protector of the academy. The intrigue for that end was managed by the cardinal de Polignac, and succeeded. What is a little unaccountable is, that the regent did not prevent it, though the cardinal de Polignac was at that very time plotting against him; and he had given the abbé St. Pierre an apartment in the Palais Royal, and had his whole family in his service. However, the abbé did not complain. He continued to live like a philosopher, with those very persons who had excluded him. Boyer, the ancient bishop of Mirepoix, his fellow-member, prevented his elogium from being pronounced at the academy according to custom. These fine speeches at the death of an academician add nothing either to his merit or reputation; yet in the present case, the refusal was barbarous: the service he had done his country, his probity, and his gentle disposition, entitled him to another sort of treatment. A few days before his death I asked him what he thought of it: He replied, that he considered it as a journey or jaunt into the country. Of all his performances, that on the future abolition of Mahomedanism is the most remarkable. He is positive that the time will come, when reason will be an overmatch for superstition every where; that men will see and be convinced, that, to please God, patience, beneficence, and humanity alone are requested.

It is impossible, says he, that a book in which falsehoods are asserted for truths, absurdities advanced that contradict common sense, and praises bestowed on actions manifestly unjust,

should be a revelation from God. He fancies that in 500 years time, all sorts of persons, even the lowest, will be convinced of the imposture, and that even the musti and the cadis will find it their interest to disabuse the people, and to reform their religion, in order to render themselves more necessary and respected. It is a curious piece.

Sallo (Denis) born in 1626. A counsellor of the parliament of Paris. He was the first that introduced journals, which Bayle perfected. They have since been brought into disgrace by greedy booksellers, and obscure writers, who have filled them with false extracts, lies, and impertinence. In short, applause and abuse is become a traffic, especially in periodical papers, by which scandalous doings, learning hath been much disparaged. He died in 1669.

Sandrafs de Courtils, born at Montargis in 1644. I have mentioned him for no other reason, but to put the French, especially foreigners, on their guard against those forgeries published in Holland. Courtils was one of the most infamous writers in this respect. He deluged Europe with fictions, under the title of histories. What a scandalous thing was it, that a captain of the regiment of Champagne should go to Holland, and support himself by selling lies to the booksellers. He, and such as follow his example, in writing libels against their country, against good princes who scorn, and private persons who have it not in their power to punish them, can be considered only as the most execrable and abandoned wretches. He wrote the Conduct of France since the peace of Nimeguen,

and the answer to it. The state of France under Lewis XIII. and XIV. The Conduct of Mars in the Dutch wars. The Love Conquests of the great Alcander. The Love Intrigues of France. The Life of Turenne and Admiral Coligni. The Memoirs of Rochefort, Artagnan, Monbrun, Vordac, of the marchioness de Frene. The political Testament of Colbert, and many other pieces, by which simpletons have been imposed upon and abused. The authors of those miserable pamphlets against France, intitled *le Glaneur*, *l'Epilogueur*, are his humble imitators. These pieces, which hunger prompted, and stupidity and falsehood dictated, are read by none but the canaille. He died at Paris in 1712.

Sanleque (Lewis.) A canon regular, and the author of some pretty verses. The age of Lewis XIV. produced a vast number of indifferent poets, in whom, however, we sometimes meet with beautiful lines. But these are to be attributed to the times, not to the genius of the authors. He died in 1714.

Sanfon (Nicholas) born at Abbeville in 1600. He was the first good writer on geography before William de L'Isle, and died in 1667. His sons were also eminent in that way.

Santeuil (Jean Bapt.) born at Paris in 1600. He was an excellent Latin poet, if that is possible, but could not make French verses. His hymns are still sung in England. He died in 1697.

Sarrafin (John Francis) born near Caen in 1605. He is an agreeable writer both in prose and verse. He died in 1655.

Savari (James) born in 1622. He was the first that wrote on commerce, having been a long time a merchant. The council consulted him with regard to the ordinance of 1670, and he drew up almost all the articles of it. The dictionary of commerce, writ by him and his brother Philemon, canon of St. Maur, was an undertaking as useful as new. But books of that sort are like the interests of princes, that change every fifty years and less. At present, the objects, the channels, the returns, and the arts of trade are very different from what they were in the days of Savari. He died in

Saumaise (Claud) born in Burgundy in 1588. He retired to Leyden to enjoy the liberty of the country. His erudition is well known. He died in 1653.

Saurin (James) born at Nismes in 1677. He was esteemed the best preacher among the protestants. Notwithstanding, his stile is said to savour of the refugee. It can hardly be supposed, says he, that those who have forgone their country for the sake of their religion, should speak their native language in its purity. But in his time, the French spoken in Holland was better than it is as present. Bayle's stile had nothing of the refugee; the only thing that can be objected to it, is a familiarity that approaches sometimes to lowness. The defects in the language of the Calvinist preachers, were occasioned chiefly by their copying the incorrect phraseology of the first reformers; besides, almost all of them having been educated at Saumur, in Poitou, in Dauphiné, and Languedoc, they still retained the vitious provincial modes
of

of expression. The place of minister to the nobility at the Hague was instituted on purpose for Saurin. He was a man of learning and pleasure, and died in 1730. His family was not at all related to that of Joseph Saurin of the Academy of Sciences, who is the author of some extracts from the *Journal des Sçavans*, some mathematical memoirs, and the noted *Factum* against Rousseau. Joseph died in 1737.

Sanveur (Joseph) born at la Fleche in 1653. He learned the elements of geometry without the help of any master, and is among the first that calculated the chances in games of hazard. He used to say, that one man could do as much as another in mathematics. This will hold true with regard to mere learners, but not to them who apply themselves to make discoveries. He was dumb till the age of seventeen, and died in 1716.

Scarron (Paul) the son of a counsellor of the great chamber, was born in 1598. His comedies are rather farces than comedies, and *Virgil Traveste* could be received only as the work of a buffoon. His *Comical Romance* is the only piece of his that is still relished by people of taste, as Boileau predicted. He died in 1660.

Scuderi (George de) born at Havre de Grace in 1603. Patronised by cardinal de Richelieu, he rivalled, for some time, Corneille in fame. His name is better known than his works. He died in 1670.

Scuderi (Magdalen) George's sister, born at Havre in 1607. She is better known at present by some pretty pieces of poetry, than by the unwieldly romances of *Clelie* and *Cyrus*. Lewis

XIV. treated her with respect, and settled a pension upon her. She gained the first prize for eloquence bestowed by the academy. Her death happened in 1701.

Segrais (John) born at Caen in 1625. Mademoiselle calls him a sort of bell esprit, but he was indeed a very great wit, and a man of letters into the bargain. He was obliged to quit that princess's service, for opposing her marriage with the count de Lausun. His Eclogues, and translation of Virgil, were then admired, but are little regarded at present. What is remarkable, is, that some of the verses of Brebeuf's *Pharsalia* are still quoted, but not one of Segrais's Virgil. Notwithstanding, Boileau crys up Segrais, but runs down Brebeuf. He died in 1701.

Senaut (John Francis) born in 1601. General of the oratory, and a preacher; who was, with regard to F. Bourdaloue, what Rotrou was to Corneille, his predecessor, and sometimes, tho' rarely, his equal. He is to be reckoned rather among the restorers of eloquence, than among the truly eloquent, who have been very few.

Senecai, first valet de chambre to Maria Theresa. He was a poet of a singular turn of imagination. His tale of Kaimae, take it altogether, discovers a very great genius. It serves to shew that very pretty tales may be told in a manner quite different from that of Fontaine. 'Tis observable that this piece, tho' the best he writ, is the only one not to be found in his collection. His *Travaux d'Apollon* has also peculiar beauties.

Sevigné

Seuigné (Mary de Rabutin) born in 1626. Her letters, which are full of anecdotes, and writ with freedom and spirit, in a lively style, are the best criticism that can be on your studied letters, in which there is a manifest affectation of wit, and still more on these fictitious letters writ to imaginary correspondents, and stuffed with absurd sentiments and adventures in a pretended epistolatory style. She died in 1696.

Sylva, a Jew of Bourdeaux. He was a celebrated physician at Paris, and writ a book on blood-letting. But he was much a greater man than one would suppose from his book; and such a physician as Moliere neither could nor durst attempt to ridicule. He died about the year 1746.

Simon (Richard) born in 1638. He was of the oratory, and an excellent critic. His history of the origin and progress of ecclesiastical revenues, and critical history of the Old Testament, &c. are read by the learned every where. He died at Dieppe in 1712.

Sirmond (James) a jesuit, born about the year 1559. He was one of the most learned and amiable men of his time, but little known as confessor to Lewis XIII. by reason of his peaceable deportment in that slippery office. The pope made choice of him, preferably to all the learned men of Italy, to write the preface to the History of the Councils. His numerous works were held in great esteem in his own time, but are very little read now. He died in 1651.

Sirmond (John) nephew of the former, historiographer

riographer of France, and privy-counsellor; an honour commonly annexed to the office of historiographer. One of his principal works is the life of cardinal d'Amboise; which he writ with no other view, but to make him appear inferior to cardinal de Richelieu, his patron. He was one of the first academicians, and died in 1649.

Sorbieres (Samuel) born in Dauphiny in 1610. One of those that have had the title of historiographer of France. Having been intimate with pope Clement IX. before his exaltation, and not receiving from him any thing but trifles, he writ to him thus: "Your holiness sends me ruffles before I have got a shirt." He writ but superficially upon several sciences; and died in 1670.

De la Suze (Henrietta de Coligni, countess) famous in her day for her wit and her elegies. She turned papist because her husband was a huguenot, and parted from him, in order, as queen Christina used to say, that she might not see him either in this world or in the next. She died in 1673.

Tallemant (Francis) born at Rochelle in 1620. The second translator of Plutarch. He died in 1690.

Tallemant (Paul) born at Paris in 1642. Although his grand-father was the rich Montoron, and his father master of requests, with an income of 200,000 livres present money, yet he had little or nothing; but Colbert provided for him, as he had for many other learned men. He had a principal hand in the medallic history of the king. He died in 1712.

Talan

Talon (Omer) attorney-general of the parliament of Paris, hath left some valuable memoirs worthy of a good magistrate and citizen. He died in 1652.

Tarteron, a Jesuit. He translated the satires of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, suppressing those grossly obscene passages, with which one is surprised to find the works of Juvenal, but especially Horace, sullied. In doing this he had an eye to the youth, for whose benefit his labours were intended; but his translation is not literal enough for them; he has given the sense, but not the import of the particular words.

Terrason (L'Abbé) born in 1669. He both lived and died like a philosopher. There are many good things in his *Setos*. He has translated Diodorus well, but his examen of Homer discovers no sort of taste. He died in 1750.

Thiers (John Baptist) born at Chartres in 1641. He is author of a number of dissertations. It was he who attacked in print the inscription on the convent of the Cordeliers at Rheims, which runs thus. To God and St. Francis, who were both crucified. He died in 1703.

Thomasin (Lewis) of the oratory, born in Province in 1619. He was a man profoundly learned, and the first that collated manuscripts of the fathers, councils, and history. Towards the end of his life, he lost his memory entirely, so that he had forgot he had ever writ any. He died in 1695.

Thoynard (Nicholas) born at Orleans in 1629. He is supposed to have had a great hand in cardinal Norris's tract on the Syrian epochs. His harmony of the gospels in Greek is esteemed a

curious piece. He was a mere scholar, but a very profound one. He died in 1706.

De Torci (John Baptist Colbert) nephew of the great Colbert, minister of state under Lewis XIV. He left memoirs of the public transactions from the peace of Ryswick to that of Utrecht. They were published while this essay on the age of Lewis was in the press, and confirms every thing advanced in it. They are very minute, and therefore only fit for those that want to be thoroughly acquainted with the subject of them. The style is better than that of any of the memoir writers his predecessors. It discovers the taste of Lewis XIV's court. But what stamps the highest value on them is, the candour and sincerity of the author, which shines through the whole. He died in 1746.

Tourel (James) born at Thoulouse in 1656. His translation of Demosthenes is well known. He died in 1715.

Tournefort (Joseph Pitton de) born in Provence in 1656. He was the greatest botanist in his time. He travelled by order of Lewis XIV. into Spain, England, Holland, Greece, and Asia, for the improvement of natural history. He added to the catalogue of plants 1336 new ones, and taught us to know our own. He died in 1708.

Le Tourneaux, born in 1640. His Christian Year is much read, though it is in the index expurgatorius of Rome, or rather perhaps because it is there. He died 1686.

Tristan l' Hermite, gentleman to Gaston of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. The long and surprising run which his tragedy of Mariamne

amne had, was owing to the ignorance of the times. They had then no better; and it even held up its head some time after Corneille made his appearance. In some nations, at this day, very indifferent performances pass for master-pieces, because they have had none better. It is not generally known that *Tristan* turned the office of the virgin into verse, nor is it at all strange that it is not. He died in 1655.

Here follows his epitaph.

*Je fis le chien couchant auprès d'un grand Seigneur.
Je me vis toujours pauvre, & tâchai de paraître,
Je vécus dans la peine attendant le bonheur,
Et mourus sur un coffre en attendant mon Maître.*

A wretched spaniel crouching by his lord,
I still was poor, and pleaded still disaster;
I liv'd in waiting at proud Fortune's board;
And dy'd upon a bench, in waiting on my master.

Vaillant (John Foy) born at Beauvais in 1632. The public is indebted to him for the Science des Medailles, and the king for one half of his cabinet. Colbert the minister sent him to Italy, Greece, Egypt, Turkey, and Persia. In 1674, he, and the architect Desgodet, were taken by the Algerines, and both ransomed by the king. Never did any learned man encounter so many dangers. He died in 1706.

Vaillant (John Francis) born at Rome in 1665, when his father visited that city. He was an antiquary, as his father had been, and died in 1708.

Valincourt (John Baptist Henry de Trouffel
O 6 de)

de) born in 1653. He is chiefly known by an epistle which Despreaux addresses to him, tho' he writ some little things himself. He acquired a handsome fortune, which is more than he would have done, had he minded nothing but his books. Mere scholarship, without that activity and sagacity which renders a man useful, leads to nothing but misery and contempt. One of the best discourses ever spoken at the academy is that wherein Mr. de Valincourt endeavours to correct the error of that multitude of young people, who, mistaking an itch of writing for genius and talent, pester princes with their verses, deluge the public with pamphlets, accusing them of ingratitude, because they forsooth are fools and idlers. He begs that those of them that have an ear would hear, and be persuaded, that the profession which they look upon as the lowest, is infinitely more eligible than that which they have taken up. He died in 1730.

Valois (Adrian) born at Paris in 1607, historiographer of France. His best works are his *Notice des Gaules*, and his history of the first race of our kings. He died in 1692.

Valois (Henry) brother of the foregoing, born in 1603. His works are less interesting to the French than those of his brother. He died in 1676.

Varignon (Peter) born at Caen in 1654. A celebrated mathematician. He died in 1722.

Varillas (Anthony) born in la Marche in 1624. An historian more agreeable than exact. He died in 1696.

Le Vassor (Michael) of the oratory, and a refugee in England. His history of Lewis XIII. tho'

too diffusive, heavy and sarcastic, is in request for many singular transactions to be found in it: but he is an odious declaimer, who, under pretence of writing the history of Lewis XIII. aims at nothing, but the depreciating Lewis XIV. sparing neither the living nor the dead. With regard to facts, he is generally in the right; but that is not supposed to be the case with regard to his characters and reflections. He died in 1681.

Vavasseur, born in Charalois in 1605. A Jesuit, and very learned. He was the first who made it appear, that the Greeks and Romans were absolute strangers to burlesque, and that it is a relic of barbarism. He died in 1681.

Vauban (marshal) born in 1633. His project of the tenth penny could not be carried into execution, and is, in fact, impracticable. He left behind him several memoirs, worthy of so good a subject, and died in 1707.

Vaugelas (Claude Favre de), born at Chamberi in 1585. He is one of those that first contributed to the regulating and refining of our language, and who could write verses in Italian, but not in French. During thirty years he was retouching and altering his translation of Quintus Curtius. Every author ought to make his works as perfect as possible, and for that end to be correcting them all his life. He died in 1650.

Le Vayer (Francis), born at Paris in 1588. He went preceptor to Monsieur, brother to Lewis XIV. and, during one year, to Lewis himself. He was also historiographer of France, and counsellor of state. His scepticism was well known,
and

and yet did not prevent his being entrusted with the important office of educating these princes. Though his works are too prolix, yet there is a great deal of just reasoning and learning in them. He was certainly the most learned member of the academy. His scepticism is bolder and more undisguised than that of Bayle, and he is more severe and cynical in satire. His motto was,

*De las cosas mas seguras
La mas segura es dudar.*

Of all those maxims deem'd secure,
The most secure is still to doubt.

As that of Montagne, *Que sçai je ? i. e.* What know I? He died in 1672.

Veiffures (Marthurin de la Croze), born at Nantes in 1661. A Benedictine at Paris. Being a free-thinker, and his superior of a quite different character, he took the resolution to quit both his order and his religion. He was a prodigy both for learning and memory. Not content with studying and understanding what was useful and agreeable, he must needs study what could not be known, such as the ancient Egyptian language. One piece that he writ, upon the Christianity of the Indies, is much esteemed. There is one thing remarkable that we learn from it, and that is, that the Bramins, notwithstanding the idolatry of the people, believe that there is but one God. Such is the itch of writing, that a life of this man hath been published, making a volume as large as that

that of Alexander. Such an extract as this would have been enough, and too much. He died at Berlin in 1739.

Vergier (James), born at Paris in 1675. He is, with regard to Fontaine, the same that Campistron is to Racine, an imitator, feeble, but natural. He was assassinated at Paris by two highwaymen in 1720. It is insinuated in Moreri, that the cause of his death was a parody he writ against a powerful prince; but that is false.

Vertot (René Aubert), born in Normandy in 1655. An elegant and agreeable historian. He died in 1735.

Vichart de St. Real (Cæsar), born at Chamberry, but educated in France. His history of the conspiracy of Venice is a master-piece, but that is more than can be said of his life of Jesus Christ. He died in 1692.

Villars de Montfaucon (l'abbè de), born in 1635. He is well known as the author of the Count de Gabalis, built upon a part of the ancient mythology of the Persians. He was shot dead with a pistol in 1673; upon which it was said that the sylphs had assassinated him for revealing their mysteries.

Villars (marshal duke de), born in 1652. He wrote the whole first tome of the memoirs that bear his name. He died in 1734.

Villedieu (madame de). Her romances have gained her a reputation. But I would not have the reader think that I set any value upon that inundation of romances with which France hath been lately overflowed. Almost all of them, except Zaid, are the productions of persons

sons of no genius, who writ in an easy agreeable style things unworthy the notice of men of sense. Most of them are quite destitute of imagination, and though read and admired by young people, whose taste they spoil, they are not worth, all together, four pages of Ariosto. She died in 1683.

Villiers (Peter), born at Coignac in 1648. A Jesuit. He was a man of letters, as almost all of that order are. His sermons, and his poem on the art of preaching, were esteemed in his own time. His verses on solitude are far superior to those of St. Amant on the same subject, though so much admired, but are not, after all, worthy of the age of Lewis XIV. which so far outshone that in which St. Amant lived. His death happened in 1728.

Voiture (Vincent), born at Amiens in 1598. He was the first Frenchman that was what is called in France a bel esprit. His writings have little else to recommend them, and yet they are not proper models to form our taste upon: but wit was then a rare thing. He writ some very pretty bits of poetry, but nothing considerable. That which he addressed to Anne of Austria is an evidence of the freedom and gallantry that reigned in that queen's court, notwithstanding the severe trials her goodness and patience underwent from the Frondeurs: but these are not in the printed collection. He goes on thus,

— — — — —
 — — — — —
*Je pensais si le Cardinal,
 J'entends celui de la Valette,*

Pouvait

*Pouvait voir l'éclat sans égal
 Dans lequel maintenant vous êtes *,
 J'entends celui de la beauté,
 Car auprès je n'estime guère,
 Cela soit dit sans vous déplaire,
 Tout l'éclat de la majesté.*

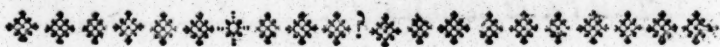
Should now the cardinal survey,
 (The cardinal Valette I mean)
 Th' unequall'd splendor you display,
 In Christendom the brightest queen.
 In beauty first, for as to rank,
 (Let not my words displeasure draw)
 And regal pomp, 'tis all a blank;
 'Tis what I value not a straw.

He was also a good versifier in Spanish and Italian, and died in 1648.

It is not worth while to carry this catalogue any farther. The reader will find in it a few great geniuses, and many imitators; and to the learned men I have mentioned, a considerable number might have been added. It can hardly be expected that any new or original geniuses should appear for the future, unless other manners, and another sort of government, should give a new turn to the human mind. It is impossible there should be any such thing as men universally learned, because every science is be-

* It was then the custom to retrench final letters in verse when the rhyme required it. As *vous été* for *vous êtes*. The English and Italians do so at present. French poetry is too much limited, and often approaches too near to prose.

come unlimited. The learned, therefore, must be content each to cultivate a corner of that vast field that was cleared and enclosed in the age of Lewis XIV.



C H A P. CCXV.

Of CELEBRATED ARTISTS.

MUSICIANS.

FRENCH music, especially the vocal, is disliked by all other nations. It cannot be otherwise, in regard that the French prosody or versification differs from that of every other country in Europe. We make the pauses always upon the last syllable, whereas all others make it upon the penult, or antepenult, as the Italians. Our language is the only one that hath words terminating in e mute, and those e's that are not pronounced in ordinary discourse, yet are uniformly so in music, as *gloi-reu*, *victoi-reu*, *barbari-eu*, *fuai-eu*... Hence it comes, that most of our airs and recitatives are insupportable to those who have not been accustomed to them. The climate denies us that flexibility of voice which it gives the Italians, and it is not a custom among us, as at Rome and other Italian courts, to make eunuchs of men, in order to render their voices finer than those of women. All these things, joined to the slowness of

of our singing, which, by the bye, forms a strange contrast with our native vivacity, will always make the French music disagreeable to any but Frenchmen.

After all, foreigners, who have resided some considerable time in France, acknowledge that our musicians have performed wonders in adapting their airs to our words, and also that the music is very expressive; but only so to ears that have been some time accustomed to it, and besides the execution must be very good.

Our instrumental music is not altogether free from the monotony and slowness of the vocal; but many of our symphonies and tunes have been relished by foreigners. They are admitted into many of the Italian operas, and scarce any others are in use at the court of a king who has one of the best operas in Europe, and who, among his other extraordinary talents, has a fine taste for music which he cultivates with great assiduity.

John Baptist Lully, who was born at Florence in 1633, and came to France at the age of fourteen, when he could perform on no instrument but the violin, was the parent of true French music. He knew how to suit his art to the genius of the language, which was the only sure way to succeed: but at that time the Italian music had not begun to deviate from that gravity and noble simplicity which we still admire in Lully's recitative. Nothing resembles these recitatives more than the *Motet* of *Lugi*, sung in Italy with so much success in the 17th century, which begins thus:

Sunt

*Sunt breves mundi rosæ, sunt fugitivi flores,
Erandes veluti annosæ, sunt labiles honores.*

The rose's date is brief;
The lilies soon decay;
And, like the annual leaf,
Frail honours fleet away.

It must be observed, that in this pure recitative music, which is the Melopee of the ancients, the beauty of the singing is principally owing to the natural melody of the words; no words but such as are musical can well have a place in recitative. But of this they were not sufficiently sensible in the days of Quinault and Lully. The poets were jealous of these gentlemen as poets, but not as musicians. Boileau thus addresses Quinault:

*Ces lieux communs de Morale lubrique
Que Lulli rechaufa des sons de sa Musique.*

Those hackney'd thoughts, so wanton, yet so
tame,
That Lully strove to warm at musick's flame.

The tender passions, which Quinault expressed so well, were much rather a striking picture of the human heart, than a loose morality; his diction animated the music still more than Lully's art did the words. These two, with the help of actors, have, of some scenes of Atis, Armida, and Roland, made an entertainment such as no people, ancient or modern, can
match,

match. Detached airs and ariettes did not at all come up to the perfection of these grand scenes. They very much resembled our Christmas carols, or the Venetian barcaroles; and yet they were contented with them at that time. The more artless the music then was, the fonder they were.

After Lully, all our musicians, such as Colasse, Campra, Destouches, and others, copied after him, till at last one appeared, who far excels them in sublime harmony; and hath vastly altered and improved the art of music.

With regard to sacred music, though we have had some celebrated composers in France, yet their pieces have not yet been executed any where but in the king's chapel.

Of PAINTERS.

The case is not the same with regard to painting as with music. The latter may please such as to please none but the natives, because the genius of the language is incompatiable with any other; but painters ought to represent nature, which is the same every where, and seen with the same eyes.

The only true test of a painter's merit is the judgment of foreigners. It is not enough that he has a party, and is cried up by scribblers; his works must be in request, and bear a high price. What sometimes hampers the genius of painters one would be apt to imagine would elevate and enlarge it, I mean the particular taste or manner of the school, or of those who preside in it. Academies are, without doubt, extremely
useful

useful to form pupils, especially when the directors aim at the sublime in painting; but if they are men of a groveling taste, if their manner is dry and minute, if their figures are ungraceful, their pieces painted like fans; their pupils are the dupes of imagination, or aiming at the applause of a bad master. There is a sort of fatality attends academies. None of the works stiled academic, of any kind, have been works of genius. Suppose an artist extremely solicitous lest he should not hit the manner of his fellow academicians, his productions will infallibly be stiff and disgusting. But if a man is free from these prejudices, and aims only at the copying of nature, it is ten to one but he succeeds. Almost all the eminent painters either flourished before the establishment of academies, or got the better of the prejudices contracted there.

Corneille, Racine, Despreaux, and Le Moine, took a route quite different from their brethren, and in consequence had most of them for their enemies.

Nicholas Poussin, born at Andelis in Normandy in 1599. Nature gave him a genius for painting, which he improved at Rome. He is called the painter of men of sense; with equal justice may he be denominated that of men of taste. His only defect is, his heightening the dismal and solemn in the colouring of the Roman school. He was the greatest painter in Europe in his time. He was invited from Rome to Paris; but was fain to give way to envy and cabal, and to withdraw, as many other ingenious men have done. He went back

back to Rome, where he lived poor, but contented, his philosophy enabling him to despise the frowns of fortune. He died in 1665.

Le Sueur, born in Paris in 1617. He had no other master than Vouet, and yet became a celebrated painter. He had carried the art to a high degree of perfection, when he was taken off the stage of time at the age of thirty-eight years, in 1655.

Bourdon and *Valentin* were eminent men. Three of the best pictures that adorn the church of St Peter of Rome, are by Pouffin, Bourdon, and Valentin.

Charles le Brun, born at Paris in 1619. Scarce had he begun to display his talent, when the superintendant Fouquet, one of the most generous, and at the same time most unhappy men that ever lived, gave him a pension of 24,000 livres present money. His picture of the family of Darius at Versailles is little short, in point of colouring, of that of Paul Veronese, which faces it; and in respect of design, composition, dignity, expression, and observance of *costume* surpasses it. His battles of Alexander, engraved, are still more in request than those of Constantine by Raphael and Julio Romano. He died in 1690.

Peter Mignard, born at Troyes in Champagne in 1610. He rivalled *Le Brun* some time in reputation: but he is now considered as much below him. He died in 1695.

Claud Lorrain. His father, when he would have made a pastry-cook of him, did not foresee that he would one day be reckoned one of the

the greatest landkip-painters that ever Europe had produced. He died at Rome in 1678.

Cafe. We have some pieces of his that begin to be highly valued. We don't do justice to ingenious men in France so soon as we ought. Their indifferent performances often prevent us from seeing the beauties of their master-pieces. On the contrary, the Italians extol what is great and excellent, without taking notice of what is indifferent. Every nation seeks to promote its own glory and renown, except the French. They value nothing but what is foreign.

Joseph Parosfel, born in 1648. A good painter, but inferior to his son. He died in 1704.

John Faurvenet, born at Rouen in 1644. He was Le Brun's pupil, and a good painter, but not to be compared to his master. He hath painted almost every thing yellow; for by some extraordinary conformation of his organs, they appeared to him of that colour. He died in 1717.

John Baptiste Santerre. There are some admirable pictures of his, the colour of which is just and delicate. His picture of Adam and Eve is one of the finest in Europe: that of St. Theresa, in the chapel of Versailles, is a very noble piece, but rather luscious for an altar piece.

La Fosse distinguished himself much in the same way.

Bon Boulogne was an excellent painter, of which the high price, and great demand for his pieces, are an evidence.

Lewis Boulagne. His works, though not without merit, yet are not so much admired as his brother's.

Raous. His pieces are not all of equal merit. In some of them he is nothing short of Rembrandt.

Rigaut. Though he excelled chiefly in portraits, yet his piece of cardinal Bouillon opening the Jubilee, is not at all inferior to any of Rubens.

De Troie. He painted in Rigaut's manner. There are some good history-pieces by his son.

Vateau. He excelled as much in the graceful as Tenieres did in the grotesque. Some of his pupils have done him honour.

Le Moine. His piece of Hercules's apotheosis, at Versailles, is perhaps superior to any thing I have yet mentioned. It was intended as a compliment to cardinal Hercules de Fleury, who, by the bye, had nothing in common with the fabulous Hercules. It would have been more a-propos to have represented the apotheosis of Henry IV. in the saloon of a French king. Le Moine, being envied by his brethren, and thinking himself ill-requited by the cardinal, died of grief and despair.

Besides these there have been some other painters, who excelled in still life, or in painting animals, as Desportes and Oudry : others in miniature, and others in portraits. At present we have some that distinguish themselves in the grand and sublime, and posterity, in all appearance, will have them too.

Of SCULPTORS, ARCHITECTS, and EN-
GRAVERS.

Under Lewis XIV. sculpture was carried to perfection, in which it still continues under Lewis XV.

James Sarrafin, born in 1598. He executed some master-pieces at Rome for pope Clement VIII. and at Paris he was equally successful. He died in 1695.

Peter Puget, born in 1662. An architect, sculptor, and painter. He is celebrated chiefly for his *Andromeda*, and *Milo of Crotona*. He died in 1695.

Italy is indebted to *Le Gros* and *Theodon* for many of its embellishments.

Francis Girardon, born in 1627. Antiquity can boast of nothing superior to his bath of *Hercules*, and his tomb of cardinal *Richelieu*. He died in 1715.

Coisevau and *Cousson* were eminent in their way, besides others; yet we have three or four sculptors at present that excel them.

Chauveau, *Nanteuil*, *Meulan*, *Audran*, *Hedeling*, *le Clerc*, *les Drevet*, *Poilly*, *Picart*, *Duchange*, tho' they have been outdone since, yet they were ingenious men, and their engravings supply the want of original pictures, &c. all over Europe.

There were also some goldsmiths, such as *Balin* and *Germain*, who, on account of the beauty of their designs, and elegance of execution,

tion, deserve to be ranked among the most celebrated artists.

It is more difficult for one born with a genius for architecture to make his talent appear, than for any other artist. Unless he is set to work by princes, he has no opportunity to display his taste and skill in any work of grandeur and magnificence. Thus have the talents of many an architect been entirely useless to them.

Francis Mansard was one of the best architects of Europe. The chateau, or palace of Maisons, near St. Germain's, is a master-piece, because he was at liberty to give full scope to his genius.

Jules Hardouin Mansard his nephew, was superintendant of the buildings under Lewis XV: and made an immense fortune. The beautiful chapel of the Invalids is a design of his. As to the palace of Versailles, he could not display his talents to advantage in it, by reason of the situation.

Foreigners object to the city of Paris, that it has only two fountains in a good taste; the old one of John Gougeon, and the new of Bouchardon: and even these are badly situated. Neither has it any magnificent theatre besides that of the Louvre, which is not used. The places for the public diversions and representation, have neither proportion, taste, nor ornament; and their situation is as bad as their contrivance, notwithstanding the example that has

been set us by some cities in the provinces, but which we have not yet thought fit to follow. France, however, can boast of magnificent buildings of another sort, and of more importance, such stately hospitals, storehouses, stone-bridges, quays, dykes for checking the inundations of rivers, canals, sluices, ports, and especially the fortifications of the frontier towns, in which beauty is united with solidity.

The magnificent structures erected upon the designs of Perrault, Levau, and Dorbay, are too well known to require a detail.

The art of gardening was in a manner invented and perfected by Le Notre, and La Quintinie; by the former in respect of beauty and ornament, and by the latter with regard to utility.

Engraving of precious stones, coining of medals, and casting of types for printing, have kept pace with the other arts in point of improvement.

Clocks and watches, the makers of which may be considered as a sort of practical naturalists, have likewise been carried to a very high degree of perfection.

The watering of stuffs, and the gold too with which they are embellished and enriched, discovers such rare ingenuity and taste, that what is worn only from vanity and luxury, deserves to be preserved as a monument of industry.

The making of porcelain was set on foot at St. Cloud before it was attempted any where else in Europe.

In fine, the last age hath taught the present how to unite, and transmit as a sacred deposit to posterity, the whole assemblage of the arts and sciences, each of them carried to the utmost perfection possible; and to do so, is actually the object and aim of numbers of learned and ingenious men at this day. But such is the brevity of human life, that the execution of part of the immense and immortal design must be left to posterity.

END of the NINTH VOLUME.

